SURE and HONEST

MEANS

FOR THE

CONVERSION

OF ALL

HERETICKS:

AND

Wholesome Advice and Expedients for the REFORMATION of the CHURCH.

[By — Vigne]

Writ by one of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and Translated from the *French* Printed at *Cologn*, 168[illegible]

With a Preface, by a Divine of the Church of England.

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THE PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH READER.

AFTER *so many excellent Diſcourſes as have of late been publiſh'd by the Divines of the* Church *of* England *upon almoſt all the Points in Controverſy between* Us *and our Brethren of the* Church of Rome; *it might well be thought a very needleſs thing to call in this* foreign Auxiliary, *were it not hoped that thoſe Reaſons which uſually are not ſo well received when coming from ſuch as they eſteem their Enemies, might poſſibly be allow'd the favour of an Examination, being offer'd by one of their* own Communion.

The deſign of this undertaking.

It may beſides be perhaps no unſeaſonable deſign, eſpecially at this time, to ſatisfy the World, that thoſe things which we chiefly complain of in their Church, *are after all no other, than what divers of thoſe who have lived and died in it, have both confeſſed to be* amiſs, *and earneſtly wiſh'd they might ſee* reformed.

It is not unknown to any at this day, what the Complaints have been of many the moſt conſiderable Perſons of the Church *of* Rome *in the very beginning of our* Reformation. *How much they deſired that ſomething might be done to rectify what they could not deny to be amiſs both in the* Head *and in the* Members.

The neceſſity of a Reformation acknowledged by many of the Church of *Rome.*

Members. *Let the frequent Demands of the* Emperor *and other* Catholick Princes; *let the Acknowledgment of the* Pope *Himself, and the Proposals of the* Colledg *of* Cardinals *expressly set apart for this Consultation; let the Remonstrances that were made, and the Endeavours that were used, both by the* French Legats, *and the* Spanish Bishops, *even in the* Council of Trent *it self, suffice to shew, both that something was amiss, and that the* Protestants *tho they might perhaps be censured by them for not proceeding so regularly as they thought they should, yet could not be deny'd to have had just grounds in the bottom for their Complaints.*

Testified in writing by some of their most eminent Authors.

And what was then more generally own'd as to these things, whilst as yet it was hoped that some redress might be had of them; many of the best Men *of that* Church, *and who have made the most diligent and impartial Enquiries into the differences between us, have not ceased, tho in a more private manner to confess since, and publish to the World their just Resentments of it.*

See the Preface to the Discourse of the Holy Eucharist, in the two great Points of the *Real Presence*, and *Adoration of the Host*.

It were infinite to insist upon all those that have done this: Something of that kind has been already offer'd to the World, and more perhaps may hereafter be done more fully to confirm it. In the mean time the Author *here before us, and who lived and died in the* Roman Communion, *sufficiently declares, that he was so far from esteeming that* Church, *which now pretends to so much* Authority *over all others, to be absolutely exempt from all possibility of erring, that on the contrary, he judged it to be* actually involved in very great Errors.

The present Treatise an Instance of it.

That the Author of this Book was indeed of the Roman Religion.

It cannot reasonably be doubted by those who know any thing at all of this Book, *but that he who wrote it was truly a Member of the* Church of Rome, *however dissatisfied with it in many of its pretences.*

The occasion of his first searching into the Truth of his Religion.

His Preface *will give a satisfactory account, how by the general decay of Piety that he met with in a place, which he expected should above all others have deserved the Name of the*

Holy

Holy City, *he came first to search more fully into his* Religion: *and how the more he read the* Holy Scriptures, *and compared the Pretences of his* Church *with what he found in them; the more he still perceived it to have deviated from the* Primitive Rule, *and to have usurped upon the* Consciences *and* Credulity *of its Members.*

But tho by this means therefore he saw that in many of our Disputes we had Reason in our Arguments against them; yet in so many other Points he still defends their Errors, as plainly shew how far he was, at the time that he wrote this Book, from being a Deserter *of his* first Faith.

That he continued in many things to the last in opposition to the Protestants. Instances of it.

Hence it is that we sometimes find him arguing thus against our Religion. "That there being no *visible Church* of our "Perswasion at the beginning of the *Reformation*, and yet "it being confess'd by us, that there ought always to have "been a *visible Church* of Christ in the World, we must "confess that then ours is not the *visible Church* of Christ: "and there being no other that can with so good reason "pretend to it as the *Roman*, we ought to acknowledg "that to be it.

That the Ch. of *R.* is the visible Ch. of Christ.

Moyons surs, *&c. part* 2. *pag.* 92, 93. Edit. de Cologne 1681.

Concerning the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, *he seems to the last to have stuck to that Interpretation of Christ's words, upon which the* Church of Rome *so much insists against us.* "That this Sacrament being the *last Will* and *Testament* of "our Blessed Lord, we ought to interpret it as all other "things of that kind, *according to the Letter:* And cannot "without Impiety believe, that our Lord *Jesus Christ* in the "Institution of it should have made use of Words, either "*obscure* or *ambiguous.* Besides, that it was never his custom "to establish *Articles of Faith* upon *Metaphorical Expressions. In a word; tho for Peace sake indeed he seems to desire that no ones Conscience should be tied up to any determinate manner of* Christ's Presence *in this blessed* Eucharist, *yet he plainly enough declares that as for himself he thought him to be* really,

2. Corporal Presence.

Ibid. *pag.* 103.

Ibid. p. 105, 107. *may* corporally *present there: And that the* Calviniſts *were guilty of* Novelty *and* Error *in this matter*, ſeeing (*as he adds*) all the Chriſtians of *Aſia* and *Africk* believe the *Real Preſence*, and there are none but themſelves that do deny it.

P. 109.

3. Communion in one kind.

From this Error, *he elſewhere argues in behalf of the* Communion in one kind: *In which tho he confeſſes his* Church *to have departed from the* Primitive Inſtitution *and therefore wiſhes is might be redreſſed; yet upon this Principle of the* Real Preſence *he endeavours to ſhew that it is not ſo* capital a Matter *as we pretend, nor ought we from hence to conclude, that their* Church *which he calls the* Catholick Church, *is* not the true Church.

Ibid. p. 99, 100, 109, 110.

4. Invocation of Saints.

I ſhall add but one Point *more, and wherein he plainly ſhews himſelf to have been far from our Perſwaſion, and that is*, the Invocation of Saints. " Which, *ſays he*, we call a " *Religious Worſhip*, and little better than *Idolatry*. But he " denies it to be a *Religious Worſhip*, for any one to *pray to* " *a Saint* to pray to God for him, or any more than to in- " treat any good Man living to do the ſame. All the diffe- " rence he thinks is, that we are not ſo ſecure that the Saint " hears our Prayers, as we are that our fellow Chriſtian does.

Ibid. p. 112.

Pag. 113. " That for that Paſſage which from St. *Paul* we alledg a- " gainſt them in the matter, *Rom.* x. 14. *How ſhall they call* " *on him in whom they have not believed?* it does them " no more harm than it does the *Calviniſts* themſelves, who " *pray* to their Miniſter to *pray* to God for them, altho " they do not *believe in him*, nor put their Confidence in " him as God. That beſides all this, their *Church* does not " teach that 'tis *neceſſary* to pray to them, and that 'tis there- " fore a manifeſt Injuſtice to accuſe them as *Idolatrous* on

Pag. 114. " any ſuch account. And that after all, we cannot deny " but that the *Invocation of Saints* was very early in the " *Church*.

I ſuppoſe this may be ſufficient to ſatisfy any reaſonable Man, that this Author *was indeed what he declares himſelf to be, a true Member of the* Church of Rome. *But if yet any further doubt ſhould ſtill remain, this I hope at leaſt will fully clear it, that the* Archbiſhop *of* Tholouſe *has lately thought fit to cauſe this very Book to be* reprinted, *with a publick* Permiſſion *ſo to do.*

His Book reprinted by the A. B. of *Tholouſe.*

See, le Janſoniſt convaincu de vaine ſophiſtiquerie, *pag.* 91.

And now after what has been ſaid concerning this worthy Author, *and who has hitherto met with a general acceptance from all thoſe that prefer the Intereſt of* Truth *and the* Peace *of the* Church, *before their own ſecular Ends and Advantages; I hope it will not diſpleaſe the* Church *of* England-Reader, *if he meet with ſome things in the following Treatiſe that may ſeem to reflect a little hardly upon his* Country *and* Communion. *For beſides that they are not many, he may pleaſe to remember that it was written by one, who, tho by God's Mercy he ſaw enough to deteſt ſome of the* Extravagances *of his* Church, *yet in the reſt continued ſtill firm to the* Communion *of it: And the* Tranſlator *thought that he ought not to give thoſe of the other ſide cauſe to complain of him, by repreſenting only what made againſt them, and omiting that wherein he ſometimes reflects upon us too.*

He is therefore to be excus'd if he ſometimes ſpeak againſt us.

As for the deſign it ſelf, The Converſion of all Hereticks, and the Reformation of what is truly amiſs in the Church: *How practicable it is I ſhall not undertake to determine. This muſt be confeſs'd, that it is certainly moſt worthy of a Chriſtian's Thoughts and Endeavours. And tho 'tis much to be fear'd, that through the Prejudices and Intereſts of Men we never ſhall ſee ſuch a perfect Union among* Chriſtians *as were to be wiſh'd; yet I cannot doubt but that our* Author *has truly pointed out to us the chiefeſt Obſtacle of our common* Peace; *and which, were it once removed, we might by God's Grace ſoon proceed on all hands to a better underſtanding than we are ever like to arrive at without it.*

The deſign of his undertaking the Converſion of all Hereticks.

The method he has taken the moſt likely to do this.

Whilſt

Whilſt Men not only continue inſenſible of their Errors, *but are carried away with an Opinion, that they* cannot poſſible fall into any: *Whilſt inſtead of examining impartially where the* Truth *lies, they magiſterially aſſume to themſelves an Authority to denounce* Anathema's *againſt their* Brethren *who would convince them of their Deviations; it is in vain to hope that either* Truth *ſhould prevail, or* Peace and Unity *be eſtabliſhed among us. But would they once be perſwaded to remove this Obſtacle out of the way; would they* know themſelves to be but Men, *and as ſuch, expoſed to the ſame Frailties and Infirmities that other Chriſtians are; would they ſeriouſly implore the Bleſſing of Heaven upon their Endeavours, and laying aſide their* vain Traditions, *joyn impartially with us in the ſearch of Truth, out of the alone* certain *and* infallible Rule *of it,* the Word of God; *why ſhould we diſpair but that* the Light of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt might yet ſo ſhine upon us, as to guide our Feet into the way of Peace.

2 Cor. iv. 4. Luke i. 79.

The ſum of his Project.

Now this is that which our Author *here endeavours to draw all Men to. He propoſes that we ſhould firſt do Juſtice to one another, as to all thoſe Points that we have falſly laid to each others Charge. That then we ſhould* reform *on both ſides whatever we could diſcover to need a* Reformation. *To this end he freely gives us up the* Council of Trent; *and indeed in effect, all the other* Councils *that have been held before it;* the Infallibility of the Church, *but eſpecially* the Authority of the Pope, *whom he proves, in what we here publiſh, to be an Uſurper, and wiſhes all Men to ſeparate from him as ſuch. He deſires that the* Cardinals *might be reduced to their firſt Condition; that the number of* Biſhops *might be encreaſed, and their Dioceſſes no larger than what they could eaſily ſupervise. That the* Monaſteries *might be retrenched, and the almoſt infinite number of the* Clergy *reduced to a juſter proportion. That for all this, a* free Council *might be aſſembled,*

aſſembled, in which the Laity *as well as* Clergy *might be preſent, as being the more likely of the two to bring things to an* Accommodation. *That for thoſe Points wherein we could not after all agree, ſome way ſhould be found out to* tollerate *one another. As for inſtance, that in the matter of the* Euchariſt, *neither ſhould thoſe of the* Church of *Rome require us to receive their Doctrine, or to joyn in their* Worſhip; *nor we them to renounce either: But that continuing on both ſides as we are, we ſhould nevertheleſs* communicate *together in the ſame poſture of* kneeling, *as is now done in the* Church of *England. Finally, that for all this it were to be wiſh'd ſome great* Prince *would begin to ſet this matter on foot, for that without ſuch a Concurrence, it will be impoſſible it ſhould ever be throughly effected.*

This is, as far as I can gather, the deſign of this Author; *and which I have the rather put together here, becauſe it is not ſo fully expreſſed in what is now publiſh'd, being only the* firſt part *of his Work, tho all that he lived to bring to perfection: For the reſt, which we find in the* French Edition, *it is rather a* Collection *of* Materials *for a* ſecond part, *than any compleat Copy of what he had finiſh'd of it.*

I ſhall not here enter into any debate, either to vindicate or to cenſure this Project. *It will be time enough for us to deliberate on theſe things, when thoſe of the* Church of *Rome will be content in good earneſt to quit their pretences to that* Infallibility *and* Authority *they have ſo long uſurped to themſelves, and over all others, and joyn in ſuch a Chriſtian Deſign as is here propoſed with us. And however we have been told that the preſent* Pope *was once inclined to ſubmit the* Council of Trent *to a* new reviſion, *yet if we may be allow'd to judg by his other Actions, he does not ſeem to be at all diſpoſed to give up the leaſt part of his* own pretences *to the* Churches Peace.

No likelihood that the Papiſts will ever conſent to it.

And

What use we are to make of it.

And therefore, instead of pursuing such vain, however pleasing, Speculations; *let us make this present use of our* Author's *Arguments, to confirm our selves yet more in opposition to those Pretences, which we see here even* One *of their* own Communion *to have proved, not only* false *but* insupportable. *Let us beseech God, if it be his Will, to bring all others that are yet enslaved by them, to the like* knowledg *of the* Truth. *And that in the mean time, he would vouchsafe unto us the* Grace *of his blessed* Spirit, *that we may faithfully persevere in our* Holy Profession *to our Lives end: That no Terrors, no Interests, no* Craftiness of cunning Men, who lie in wait to deceive, *may be able to make us* fall from our own Stedfastness: *But that* contending earnestly for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints, *we may* grow in Grace, and in the knowledg of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: To him be Glory both now and for ever. *Amen.*

Ephes. iv. 14.

Jude 3.

2 Pet. iii. 18.

THE

The Authors PREFACE.

THE Authority of the Pope hath taken ſuch root by the ignorance of the Holy Scripture, by the multitude of *Eccleſiaſticks*, and by all the Temporal Benefices, whereof the Pope is looked upon as the Source, that a kind of Miracle ſeems neceſſary to deſtroy it, and to Reeſtabliſh the Church in that liberty which the Son of God hath purchaſed for it by his Blood. Beſides, Impiety, Irreligion, Ambition and Diſſoluteneſs have ſo ſeized upon the minds of the greateſt part of Mankind, that a man cannot hope to be ſo much as heard when he ſpeaks of Reforming the Church. Altho I am very well ſatisfied of that, yet I think my ſelf indiſpenſibly obliged to repreſent the abuſes of this Power and Authority which hath no juſt foundation; at leaſt in this reſpect I ſhall in ſome meaſure juſtifie my ſelf towards God in doing my Duty, I ſhall juſtifie my ſelf to my own ſelf, whom my Conſcience hath long accuſed of a large and Criminal ſilence. I ſhall alſo juſtifie the Catholicks againſt the Hereticks, who will know by this, that we are not ſo blind as they imagin. And this will alſo ſerve to fortifie the Catholicks againſt all the Temptations they may have of abandoning the Church, by freeing themſelves from the Papacy; ſo that Renouncing the latter, they may always ſtand firm to the former, and alſo prepare themſelves to fight couragiouſly againſt Antichriſt, who in all appearance is near at hand.

I have a great while hoped that there would have been found among the great and learned men that we have among us, ſome one or other that would have undertook to open mens eyes, and would have ſaved me a labour therein. I could conſult no body without manifeſt danger both to themſelves and me, ſince it is a work that may equally diſpleaſe both weak Catholicks and Hereticks, being obliged in regard of the firſt to diſentangle

and ſeparate truth from falſhood, and a falſhood more beloved by many Catholicks than the moſt Important truths. And in regard of the Hereticks, I know it is the way to undermine the foundation of their falſe Religions, tho without diſpute, and indirectly, in aboliſhing the Papacy. In reſpect both of the one and of the other, the effects of this miſchievous Authority are *terrible*; ſince it fills the Catholicks with ignorance, and groſs and low Ideas of the Chriſtian Religion; and mars the beauty of that as well as of the Church. The Hereticks are thereby ſcandalized, and harden themſelves more and more in their obſtinacy, perſwading themſelves that every thing in our Religion is falſe, ſeeing clearly that ſome *part of it* is ſo.

It is not to be doubted but that many Catholicks of our time do ſee this evil, ſince in the preceding Ages many have perceived it, and that the evil is come to ſo high a *degree*, that it is almoſt impoſſible not to take notice of it. And truly there have been ſome who could not forbear ſaying ſomewhat of it; but this hath been but very ſlightly and ſuperficially. It ſeems as tho they were aſhamed of Jeſus Chriſt and his Goſpel, as the Scripture ſpeaks.

In truth, it is a deplorable thing that amongſt the multitude of learned men profeſſing the Chriſtian Religion, and that employ themſelves in writing, there cannot be found ſo much as one man of underſtanding touched with the miſeries of the Church, and of ſuch courage as to repreſent it to thoſe who may and ought to remedy it, the Sacriledg daily committed in the Church under the very name of the Church, and under the pretence of Religion. Either the greatneſs of the evil muſt diſcourage them, and bereave them of all hopes, and not being able to cure the Ulcer, they had rather let it wholly alone; *Omittere potius prævalida & Adulta vitia, quam hoc aſſequi ne palam fieret qualibus flagitiis Impares ſimus*, Tac. Annal. *Lib.* 3. or elſe it muſt be, that their own intereſt is concerned in the continuance

tinuance of this evil, or that they have no regard for the desolations of the Church; or lastly, they are afraid of shaking the Catholick Religion in respect of weak Brethren, and for fear of giving occasion to the Hereticks, thereby to insult over it. If they had these last thoughts, it was for want of examining the thing; for it is certain that the Papacy hath neither by nature nor Divine institution any connexion with the Christian Religion, but on the contrary its Principles are opposite, and tend to its destruction. It is also certain that those who have separated themselves from the Church, see very clearly the inconsistency of the Papacy with the Gospel, since there was nothing else that heretofore obliged the *Greeks*, and since the Protestants, to forsake the Church; so that no man can believe but that they see the thing very well, since it is the only place wherein they daily attack us with a mighty advantage; and tho it were not true that they knew it perfectly, we are however indispensibly obliged to oppose Errors (*Mendacia nec tegunt nec vulnerant*) and not to palliate them; and certainly not sincerely to acknowledg palpable gross abuses, is to betray Religion and the Church; for that makes men call in question the best establisht Truths, according to that saying, He that denies all things, grants all things: *Qui en todo niga loda.* And I have always observed, that a frank and generous acknowledgment when a man is in an error, produces a very good effect upon all judicious and reasonable persons, and disposeth the Protestants with much more readiness to embrace the Catholick Verities.

Furthermore, I dare be bold to affirm, That one of the principal causes of the irreligion and impiety which reigns in the World, proceeds in great measure from the little Reason and Wisdom wherewith this Primacy and Papal Almighty power is exercised, which converting all Religion to its Temporal Profit, makes the very Divinity of the Christian Religion to be called in question. For as the World goes,

goes, men will have all or nothing; So that having at firſt received the Article of the Papacy, as an Article of Faith, whilſt they ſee the Popes, under colour of this Article, robbing and plundering the Church, they will perceive the Impoſture, and believe at length, that the other Articles of Religion are no more Divine than that of the Papacy. So that if it pleaſed God, that this Tyranny were aboliſhed in the Church, this villainous Mask taken off from Religion, it would be incomparably more loved and reſpected, and the Impiety, Ambition, and Diſſoluteneſs, wherewith the Papacy hath infected all things, would be baniſhed from the Church, and we ſhould ſee all the Schiſmaticks and Hereticks range themſelves under the Standard of the Church; and even the *Pagans*, and the other Infidels, whoſe Princes are afraid of the Pride of *Rome*, that would make them her Subjects and Tributaries, and diſpoſe of them and their States at her pleaſure. By this means all hopes would be taken away from the Hereticks of ever ſeeing the Catholick Religion ruined by it: for I know their Miniſters have from hence all their hopes, and would be ſorry to ſee the Papacy aboliſhed without the Catholick Religion. Wherefore it is abſolutely neceſſary to fortifie the Catholicks againſt this danger, and to teach them how to diſtinguiſh between the Wiſdom of God, which they ought always to ſtand firm to, and the folly of men, which they ought always to abhor; and that this laſt, whatever mixture it may ſeem to have with Truth, by the art of men, may never make them contemn the other; and that the Truth may never make them receive the Inventions of humane Wiſdom, ſharpened by Ambition and Avarice, how ſpecious ſoever they may appear. I ſhall not be at all ſurpriſed, if ſome men think I ſay too much, and that there be many who will call me Extravagant; for I know how groſs and carnal *Ideas* they who read not the Scripture have of Religion, having been one of that number, who, as well as others, believed that the Church could not ſubſiſt without the

Pope,

Pope, and that there ought to be a Universal and Visible Head of the whole Church: But I shall have reason to think it very strange, if people have not other Sentiments, after the reading of this work. All those who will penetrate, and enter a little with me into the knowledg of the Disorders which that Authority causes among Christians, will find, that I have too much reason, and that I speak with a great deal of Moderation, if they have any zeal and love for the Church.

For my part, I have been in three different tempers, in regard of the Papacy. When I first knew what it was, I did nothing but sigh, like another *Heraclitus*, and afflict my self with grief for the Disorders that shook my Faith: After this, I fell into another frame, wherein, like *Democritus*, I did nothing but laugh at the folly and vanity of men, who under pretence of Religion, suffer'd themselves to be so imposed upon. Since that, as my Understanding encreased, I again fell into the condition of *Heraclitus*, being more perswaded than I was of the Truths of Religion, and bearing a greater part in the calamities of the Church, and in the salvation of my neighbour, than before I did; and this it was that moved me to put these my thoughts in writing. So go the thoughts of men, succeeding one another, *pro* or *con*, according as they are more enlightned.

Here I think it proper to represent by what Degrees I came to know the Imposture.

It is now more than 30. years since I was first at *Rome*. There I began to perceive that there was nothing at all in what people had made me believe of the Pope and Cardinals. I did never believe that every thing that was told me of them was true; for people would have perswaded me, that the Pope received news every 24. hours from Paradise, and that he sent whomsoever he pleased to Heaven or Hell. But what I believed of him, was his great Sanctity, Infallibility, and Impeccability in every thing he said (as indeed

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it ſeems neceſſary it ſhould be ſo, if it be true, that Chriſt hath given him the Employ that he pretends to), a vaſt and almoſt infinite Knowledge, a perfect abſtraction from all frail and earthly things, with a continual application for the ſalvation of all mankind: And I believed as much in proportion of the Cardinals. I found that to be very true which *Tacitus* ſays, *Major e longinquo Reverentia:* You muſt not come near a thing to have a value for it. I had the leiſure to conſider the Maxims and Conduct of theſe people, which I ſoon found to be contrary to all the *Ideas* I had formed to my ſelf of them, and I wanted but very little of running ſtark mad. I was as full of indignation againſt thoſe who gave me theſe impreſſions, as againſt thoſe who ſcandalized me: I ſaw nothing throughout, but an horrible Licentiouſneſs both in the Court and in the Town, without any appearance of the true Worſhip of God, as I had obſerved in many honeſt people of *France*. I heard of nothing any where, but *Horrors* and Abominations of all kinds; comparing this with the Sentiments that had been inſtilled into me in *France*, I often cried out, *O quantum eſt in Rebus Inane!* O how the World is abuſed! The mind of man is but vanity; and I wiſhed with all my heart, that our poor *French-men* had but ſeen it, that ſo they might be undeceived. The greateſt part of the men here, paſs half the day in the Churches to hear the Muſick, and the other half among the Curteſans; and that was it which they at firſt commended to me, the fine Churches, and the fine Curteſans. This Nation as well as the *Spaniards* hath found the ſecret of Aſſociating their Devotion with a *habit* of the moſt enormous vices. In one hand they ſhall hold a long *Bead-roll*, and ſtick a Dagger into a mans body with the other, or elſe commit the moſt horrible Impurities; nor is there any juſtice for this, nor for Sodomy, which is more common there than ſimple Fornication in our Country; nor for poyſoning. And from all theſe things

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the Cardinals, and Court of *Rome*, are no more free than others; For the Popes, their Age ordinarily frees them from these things. I reasoned oftentimes thus with my self; *Is it possible that this here should be the man whom they call His Holiness, who gives Pardons and Indulgences to others, and who Canonizes Saints? Is it possible that these should be the men, and this the Court that gives Laws for Religion to the whole Earth?*

I confess, that my Respect for Religion sensibly diminished every day; that I was tempted to believe that the Christian Religion was made only for them, and that I doubted of its Divinity, seeing and hearing nothing but inconceivable Dissoluteness every where, even in the very Cloisters; an Ambition, and an excessive Vanity in all the Prelates, who were promoted for no other merit than that of a *Machiavillian* Policy, wherein the Disciples out-do their Master. I knew not where I was: Sometimes I cast my eye upon a person of Reputation and of Merit, as people told me, and I believed so, seeing his Air and his Behaviour: In a matter of 8 days I should hear the secret History of him, which was a horrible one. The *Heros* of this Court are, as *Tacitus* says of *Mucian*, people compounded of great Vertues, and great Vices; *Mucianus Luxuria, Arrogantia, Comitate, Industria, bonis malisq; artibus mixtus.* These are brave worldly men; but for Religion, most certainly they have none at all. I am of the Opinion, That staying in this place is very dangerous for an honest man; and people do complain, both in *Germany* and in *England*, that their young people that travel, come back from thence *lost* in Debauchery and Impiety. That which preserved me from the Contagion of this place, was, that I went with an honest and a simple mind, however, not very ignorant; for I had finished my studies. This it was that disgusted me at all the disorders and licentiousness I saw there, and gave me a *horror* for all their pleasures. Perhaps I should have done like o-

ther people, if I had not been ſo ſtiff and reſolute.

To free my ſelf from the perplexity I was in about Religion, through the diſorder and irregularity of this Court, that is eſteemed the Center of Religion, from whence, according to this ſuppoſition, there ought to ſhine forth nothing but Sanctity, Purity, Humility, Charity, and Zeal for the ſalvation of men, Contempt of the Grandeurs and Riches of the World, with a continual application to the inſtruction of the people; and where I ſaw nevertheleſs nothing in the ſtead of theſe Vertues but Licentiouſneſs, Ambition and Superſtition, with a horrible Ignorance in the people. I then formed a Deſign to inſtruct my ſelf, and to know a little better the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion: And I deſired for that end a *French* Abbot, with whom I lodged, to lend me a *Latin New Teſtament*, which he had, and which he read but ſeldom. I read it with attention, twice over, from one end to the other, which ſet my mind in better condition than it was before. The more I read, the more I was inwardly comforted; but I was the more enraged againſt what I ſaw, without being able to find the leaſt ſolution to the impoſſibility that there appeared to me to be, in the Popes being the Univerſal Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt upon Earth, and Head of the Church Catholick. I there quickly found the principal Articles of Religion eſtabliſhed in many places, and often in expreſs terms one only Head of the Church, Jeſus Chriſt, of whom the Church is the Body, and Believers the Members; one only Spouſe of the Church, one only Biſhop of Biſhops; but not one word, neither far nor near, of the Pope and Cardinals, nor any thing that had any relation to them. Beſides, all places there were full of Examples and Exhortations to Humility, to Piety, to Chaſtity, and to Charity. The Maſter and Diſciples there ſpoke continually of renouncing the World, its Grandeurs, Vanities, Pleaſures, Riches, and above all, againſt the Spirit of *Domination*. But in the Popes, and in their

their Court, I found Maxims that were quite contrary. I ſometimes entertained the Abbot, who was an *honeſt* man, and very ſociable, with the trouble that this Authority of the Popes gave me. He laughed at it, and gave me pleaſing Anſwers, owning one part of what I objected, and for the reſt, he gave me Reaſons, which to me were not very ſufficient. One day when I preſſed him a little more than ordinary, not knowing what to anſwer me, he told me, That if I would read *Bellarmin*, I ſhould there find many Reaſons that would reſolve my Doubts. So that I hired one, which I read over and over upon this Subject, without finding any thing that gave me the leaſt ſatisfaction. There were paſſages of Scripture wreſted with great violence, which touched not the queſtion, or elſe were contrary to it; and the forc'd ſenſe that he gave them was always directly contrary to the Genius of the Goſpel, and oppoſite to other paſſages of Scripture, whereof I had made a great Collection, and agreed not at all with the Maxims, and with the Example of Jeſus Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles. It is true, there were ſome Humane Reaſons, which at firſt might ſeem plauſible; but beſides that they had not that weight which thoſe had which the Scripture furniſhed with againſt him; they tended to eſtabliſh a Worldly and Temporal Dominion in the Church, and renewed the Error of thoſe *Jews* who believed that the Reign of the *Meſſias* ought to be accompanied with worldly Pomp and Splendor, and to be exerciſed with great Authority and with fleſhly Arms; for this was the Sum of what he endeavoured to prove, That Monarchical Government is the moſt advantagious in the World, and by conſequence, that the Church ought to be governed by the Soveraign Orders of only one man, who is the Pope, who hath the power to exterminate Kings, and all thoſe who will not ſubmit themſelves to him. This confirmed me in the Opinion I had before, ſeeing that ſo ſubtil a Wit as *Bellar-*

min, a man ſo well verſed in Antiquity, and that had ſo much intereſt in the thing, could find out nothing at all to maintain this Opinion.

At length, I went into *Germany*, where, after Eight or Nine Months travelling, I came to *Cologne*, where I had a great deſire to inform my ſelf farther, and to know if the Papacy had a great while ruled in the Church, and how long ſince? Whether or no the Ancient Doctors of the Church had heard it ſpoken of, and what they thought of it? I applied my ſelf then to examine ſome of the Fathers upon this Article; and that I might the ſooner have done, I conſulted them upon thoſe places of Scripture which the Popes make uſe of, to ſee if the Fathers underſtood them as they do. I found in examining them, that they explained them in a manner quite contrary to the Pope's Pretenſions. This made me certainly conclude, that the Papacy muſt have been ſet up in the Church by ſome violent ſtroke, or elſe by ſmall beginnings, and by degrees, as it ordinarily falls out in Uſurpations, which are made either altogether by a greater force, or elſe by little and little; and that this Uſurpation had been ſeconded and favoured by people, who ſaw there was not like to be any great reſiſtance, and they made their advantage of it through mens ignorance.

After that, another thing that gave me a great deal of trouble, was, how to ſeparate the Article of the Papacy from the Verities of the Catholick Faith, ſo that the Infallibility of the Church, as I underſtood it, might not be prejudiced. Thinking on this then, often in my unquiet mind, I reſolved farther to conſult the Scripture, and the Fathers, upon the paſſages ordinarily alledged to prove the Infallibility of the Church; and I found that they did not underſtand them as I did: But becauſe I knew what made the Cardinals, and other peo-

people, employ the utmoſt of their ingenuity in Defence of the Popes Authority, and that I ſaw not well what Advantage they could draw from the Infallibility of the Church, which they maintained with ſo much ardor, that doubled my attention, to ſound the depth of the matter; and I found, that by the help of this Infallibility, they would conceal every thing, ſo as to ſave the Popes Authority, and all the Temporal Advantages which flow from it; and I made no further doubt of it, when I ſaw they applied it particularly to the Clergy, excluding all the people, and many men to the Pope alone, excluding all other Biſhops.

Since theſe Diſcoveries, I have always held it as a Maxim, wherein I have never been deceived, which is, That when any practice or Cuſtom in the Church brings profit or honour to the *Eccleſiaſticks*, I preſently ſuſpect and examine it.

At length having a long time reflected upon all the abuſes of this Papal Authority, and having obſerved the Deplorable condition to which it hath reduced the Chriſtian Religion as well without as within the Church, and ſeeing it was that which having driven the *Greeks* and Proteſtants out of the Church, is ſtill the cauſe why they return not again unto its Communion, and that it even draws ſtrange Perſecutions upon the Church from theſe ſcattered ſheep, by reaſon of the attempts of the Court of *Rome*, and its favourers; I at laſt reſolved to publiſh this little Treatiſe to diſabuſe mankind in reſpect of the unjuſt and criminal Devotion which they have for the Papacy, and alſo to purge the Church of it as well as of all other vices and misfortunes it hath there cauſed; being perſwaded that an Infallible fruit of this Reformation would be the Converſion of the *Greeks*, Proteſtants, Pagans, *Jews* and *Mahometans*; not to mention the Honour it would do to all the Catholick Princes, whoſe Majeſty and Greatneſs are vilified by this

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ſhameful ſubjection to, and dependance on the Popes, which make them to be deſpiſed by other Princes who have freed themſelves from their Tyranny. A Senator of *Sweden* told me one day a very good ſaying of *Tacitus* to this purpoſe, *Viri muliebria patiuntur.* Men act the parts of women; which is as much as to ſay, they are the *Catamites* of the Popes.

However, ſince it is in their power to treat thoſe as Hereticks and Enemies of the Church who oppoſe their Ambition and Intereſt, I prepare my ſelf againſt it, and that doth not at all diſcourage me. It is more Honourable to be hated by ſuch people than loved. *Illi maledicent, at tu Domine Benedices.* I know the Reader will in this Work of mine preſently look after the *Caracters* of either *Janſeniſt*, *Calviniſt*, or *Lutheran*; or laſtly, of a man who could not be promoted to Benefices, and many times he will think he hath found me. As for Benefices I might perhaps have had one if I had had a mind to it; but by the Grace of God, I will have none, nor have I need of any, nor was I ever deſigned for it. The *Janſeniſts* are as yet too much Papiſts to ſpeak ill of the Papacy. As for the *Calviniſts* and *Lutherans*, I wiſh they could be brought to own the *opinions* which I do, and which I have no mind to betray in this my Book. It is true, they have both written often againſt this power, but not with deſign that the Catholick Religion ſhould be the better for it, to which this Work wholly tends. Whatever men will judg, I think I ought not to renounce any truth becauſe the Hereticks know it; nor to put my eyes out rather than ſee the Injuſtice of the Papacy, becauſe the Hereticks ſee it. If I had not here drawn the Picture of the Jeſuits Religion, it may be thoſe they call the *Janſeniſts* would have ſuſpected them to have been the authors of it as the preſent times go; and for the *Calviniſts*, I am ſure, that in many places they will ſay that I do but gild over the Pill, that they may the more eaſily ſwallow down the poyſon, as ſome people have

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ſaid of the Book of *Mr. de Condom*; they may judg of it what they pleaſe, I have followed the ſentiments which the reading of the Holy Scripture hath inſpired me with, and in which I am confirmed the more by reading the Fathers, and the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and by making reflection upon all that I have ſeen in foreign Countries, and upon what I ſee every day here.

If the *Romaniſts* hear this Work ſpoken of, they will ſay, without doubt, as heretofore at the Council of *Trent*, when *Mr. de Faber* made Remonſtrances on the Kings behalf concerning the diſorders of the Church, *Gallus Cantat*, they cried. I have no better anſwer than what he made them, *Vtinam ad Galli cantum, Petrus reſipiſceret*; let them come and renounce the Dominion and Tyranny they exerciſe over the Church, and over the World, and let our Biſhops for time to come, behave themſelves like worthy *Succeſſors* of this Apoſtle.

This Work ſhall be divided into Three Parts, which will contain ſo many Chapters. In the firſt I ſhall prove that the Papacy hath no foundation in the Word of God; and ſhall ſhew the vanity & folly of thoſe arguments which they pretend to draw from the Goſpel. In the ſecond I ſhall make it appear that the Primitive Church never knew it, and that in the darkeſt Ages there were ever ſome who oppoſed it, and I ſhall confute many human reaſons, which for want of the Scripture, and of the Fathers, are made uſe of for its defence. And in the third and laſt, I ſhall examine all the pretended advantages which this Authority procures to the Church, or to States, and I ſhall ſhew that 'tis ſo far from bringing any real good to the Church, or to Catholick States, that it is the cauſe of the Deſolations of the Church, and of the greateſt part of the Diſorders among all Chriſtians, of Ignorance, Hereſies, Schiſms and Irreligion that reign. No man ought to be ſurpriſed that I conceal who I am in ſo perverſe an age as we live in, where Truth and Honeſty as well

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as those who profess it, are exposed to cruel Persecutions, and wherein I shall have as many mortal enemies as there are worldly Catholicks and Papists, and people in possession of Benefices, without mentioning the Monks.

I have no reason to flatter my self with any great success this Book may have by reason of the extream disorder and irreligion of the Age; and I do it more to discharge my self of the load lying upon me, and for the consolation of my own mind, than for any other thing, as heretofore *Petrarch* said upon a like occasion, *Hæc scribo, non tam ut sæculo meo prosim, cujus tam desperata miseria est, quam ut me conceptis onerem & Animum scriptis soler. I write these things not so much to profit the age I live in, whose misery is so desperate, as to unburthen my self of my own thoughts, and to refresh my spirit with writing I have written for my self. Hæc mihi cecini & Musis, & si nemo Alius Audierit.* I have sung these things to my self and the Muses, tho no body else should hear them.

SURE

Sure and Honeſt Means
TO CONVERT ALL
HERETICKS.

CHAP. I.

That the Papacy hath no Divine Title. The vanity and nullity of thoſe which it draws from the Goſpel.

WHoſoever ſhall read the New Teſtament, will there find that Jeſus Chriſt alone is eſtabliſhed as Head of the Church, and that it is not ſaid of any other, that ſhe ſhould be his Body, or Believers his Members, that belonging to none but Jeſus Chriſt, who is alſo the only Spouſe of the Church, which would be adulterous ſhould ſhe ſubmit to another; and this other could not be but an evil perſon, and a reprobate, ſince that in taking the quality of Spouſe of the Church, he muſt renounce that of Son of the Church, and ſo could not have God for his Father, according to the Maxim, *That he who hath not the Church for his Mother, hath not God for his Father.* Now no one perſon can be the Head, the Spouſe and Son of the Church at the ſame time. Nevertheleſs it is certain that the Popes do aſſume theſe Titles to themſelves by a vanity which exceeds all folly, and without being able to produce any reaſon for it, Divine or Humane. But let us ſee what they ſay to maintain their pretenſions.

They ſay that among the *Jews* one man only, *viz. Aaron*, had the conduct of Divine Service, and was Head of the Levites, and

that by conſequence there ought to be in the Chriſtian Church an Authority like unto this, Eſtabliſhed over the whole Church; and that the Biſhops of *Rome* perform the Functions of this charge.

1. Whereupon there are many things to be ſaid: Firſt of all, it was not difficult for *Aaron* to acquit himſelf of this in ſo little a State as *Judea*, and in one only City of this State, which was *Jeruſalem*, and in one only Temple of that City; for it was not allowed to perform Divine Service, nor to Sacrifice elſewhere; whereas Chriſtianity is at this time ſpread over the whole world, and therefore one ſingle perſon only cannot perform theſe Functions every where. It is as if a man ſhould ſay, that becauſe *France* is well governed by one King, he might as well govern all the States of the habitable Earth; and yet it would be much more eaſie for him to do it, than for one Biſhop to govern the whole Church, becauſe (as it is well known) the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry cannot inflict Corporal puniſhments upon Delinquents as the Civil Government may and does.

2. Beſides, *Aaron* was no way the Figure of the Biſhops of *Rome*; for then the Type would have been more excellent than the Original; but he was the Figure of our Great and Soveraign High Prieſt

3. Jeſus Chriſt. Furthermore, *Aaron* was not the Monarch of the Levites, but as the *Doge* is at *Venice*; for according to all the *Talmudiſts*, he was ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the Great *Sanhedrim*, and to their Cenſure; whereas the Popes pretend to be not only the Monarchs of the whole Earth, but particularly of all the Clergy.

4. And beſides all this, there was an expreſs inſtitution of God for this charge, and for the perſon of *Aaron*, and of his Succeſſors. Whereas there is nothing like it for the Papacy, nor for the perſons of thoſe who exerciſe it. We ſee in the Old Teſtament the Inſtitution of *Aaron*'s Charge with many Ceremonies for his Inſtallment, and for his anointing; many Ordinances for the Exerciſe of this Charge, and for the Succeſſion; many Chapters which ſpeak of the Subordination of Prieſts and Levites. But on the contrary we find not one word in the Goſpel of this pretended charge of Univerſal Head of the Church, of Vicar-General of Jeſus Chriſt, and Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, nor any thing that hath any relation to it; and yet it ought to have been there clear and evident, ſince that this Miniſtry was to be of an extent a thouſand times greater, and the thing in it ſelf is prodigious, and appears quite contrary to the nature of the Meſſias his Kingdom, and to the Goſpel. We ſee ſeveral Orders of Miniſters of the Goſpel, there often

often ſpoken of; but not one word that can any ways relate to the Pope; when ſurely that was the place to have ſpoken of it, eſpecially if it be neceſſary to Salvation to be ſubject to him, as they would have it, and if he hath the power as they would perſwade us, as well over the Temporality as the Spirituality of the whole world; St. *Paul* who without queſtion was of as great ability as the Pope, was not of theſe peoples humour, who pretend to govern the whole Church; ſince he who had not the thouſandth part of Chriſtians to take care of, as the Pope would have according to their ſuppoſition, declares that no Mortal man was ſufficient to perform every thing that was neceſſary to be done in it, and that he was himſelf overwhelmed with the care he took for all the Churches. Nor had St. *Peter* the courage of our good Popes, who believe themſelves capable of governing the whole Church, (and they might do it without difficulty after the method they take) ſince he agreed with St. *Paul*, that St. *Paul* ſhould go toward the Gentiles, and he towards the *Jews*, and ſo they parted the Miniſtry between them. At leaſt the Popes, after *Aarons* example, ought to meddle only in Eccleſiaſtical, and not in Secular affairs, as they do, pretending to Lord it over the whole world; for we ſee that *Aaron* applied himſelf only to the Functions of his Charge, and that in things Temporal and Civil he was ſubject to *Moſes*, and left the Abſolute direction of them to him.

Inſtead of imitating *Aaron*, the Head of the Levites, in his Modeſty, the Popes pretend to be Lords not only of the Temporality, but of the Spirituality, of all the States of the world, and will in this be Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, tho he declared that his Kingdom was not of this world, tho he taught his Diſciples, that he among them who would be the firſt, ſhould be the laſt, though he fled away when they would have made him a King, tho he payed Tribute to the Princes of the world, when he was himſelf Lord both of Heaven and Earth; tho he expreſly forbad his Diſciples to bear rule over any one whatſoever.

The Popes notwithſtanding this, will govern, and pretend that our Saviour did amiſs when he ſpoke thus, and that they know better than he how to improve the rights of his Prerogative. For my part, I believe that ſuch a King as Jeſus Chriſt who holds the Earth in his hand, according to the Prophet's expreſſion, who upholds all things by the power of his word, as St. *Paul* ſays, who knows the hearts of all men, and governs the motions of all the

creatures; who is Almighty, who knows and ſees every thing, without whom no man can have neither life, motion, nor being; ſuch a King, I ſay, hath no need of a Vicar-General for the Spiritual Government of the Church, becauſe he is preſent in all places, no more than an Husband needs a Vicar for his Wife, or a living Father for his Children; and that he himſelf aſſureth us that where two or three are gathered together in his name, there will he be in the midſt of them. If he hath a Vicar-General, he can be no other than the Holy Ghoſt. We alſo ſee that when he was upon the point of leaving his poor Diſciples who were afflicted by reaſon of his approaching departure from them, he tells them not, *I will leave you the Pope to guide and govern you*, which had been but a poor conſolation: But, *I will ſend you the Comforter, who ſhall lead you in all truth.*

And if we conſider in what the adminiſtration of this Spiritual Kingdom doth conſiſt, we ſhall clearly ſee that no one mortal man can be the Vicar-General of it: Can one only man preach the Goſpel, and adminiſter the Sacraments all the world over? They tell you, that he will make it be done by others, (would to God the Popes would do ſo) but theſe Delegated Preachers would be thus the Popes Vicars, who pretends to be the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſometimes of St. *Peter*; which cannot be according to all the Canoniſts, who maintain that one Vicar cannot make another; beſides, that the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry, properly ſpeaking, cannot be ſubdelegated to Vicars; for whoſoever diſcharges it, ought always to perform it in Preaching, or Exerciſing the other Epiſcopal Functions in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, and not in the name of any creature; and a man muſt be a fool or a ſeducer to do otherwiſe. A meer man, as the Pope is, can he fill the ſouls of men with peace and joy in the Holy Ghoſt, which is the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt? Can he defend the Church againſt all its enemies, viſible and inviſible? Can he give the Crown of Righteouſneſs to thoſe who ſhall be victorious and faithful to God to the death? Can he raiſe them up again? Theſe are Acts of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt over his Church. What relation hath the Dominion of the Pope to that of Jeſus Chriſt? What reſemblance between light and darkneſs? between Jeſus Chriſt and *Belial*?

Thus it is evident that it is without any foundation that the Biſhops of *Rome* boaſt of being Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt; they are no more ſo, then the meaneſt Prieſt of the Church; and it was with reaſon that the Council of *Baſil* * maintained to them, that they

Æneas Silv. Geſt. Conc. Bil.

were

were not Vicars of Jesus Christ, but of the Church, as every Curate is in his Parish, *Pontifex Vicarius Ecclesiæ, non Christi.* Nevertheless they maintain that St. *Peter* had this Employ of Universal Vicar, that he was Head of the Apostles, and of the whole Church, Bishop of Bishops, Soveraign both of Spirituality and Temporality, Monarch of the Church, and of the World. In a word, that he had all the Prerogatives that the Popes at this present time enjoy, in quality of Successors of St. *Peter*. And that, as I have said, without being able to produce so much as one word, of the Creation and Institution of this Charge so important to the Church, if you will believe them, nor of the Rights of this Charge, nor of the Succession, nor of the manner of the Election, nor how so marvellous a Charge ought to be Exercised, nor of the respect and obedience due to this Vicar, nor of the use of his Office. They affirm boldly that St. *Peter* was at *Rome*, that he was Bishop there, That he founded that Church, That he died there, and left a Successor, who was called *Clement* or *Linus*, or *Anacletus*; of which things, tho they make the Salvation of all men to depend upon them, they are not able to prove one tittle. And they do affirm that this Successor entered into the full possession of all the Privileges of St. *Peter*, to which all the Bishops of that City have ever since equally succeeded, both good and bad, unto the present Pope *Innocent* the Eleventh.

It must be readily acknowledged, that these Gentlemen must have very penetrating understandings to make these discoveries from the Gospel; for it is certain that they are wholly imperceptible there; I have sometimes read it without ever finding any thing that was at all like it, and I think I saw clearly, that St. *Peter* never knew he had this Authority, but that on the contrary he believed that no Christian whatever, much less a Bishop, ought to have it in the Church; nor did the other Apostles know it any more than he, for somewhat of it would then appear; and they who protest they have made known to us the whole will of God, would have been extreamly to blame not only to have declared nothing of it to us, but also to have always spoken and acted with their Soveraign Head and Master, as with an Equal. And St. *Paul* would have lost all manner of respect for him when he so warmly reproved him. It seems probable also that our Saviour was obliged to have given them notice of it; for naturally they could not know it; and the Modesty, Charity, and Humility of St. *Peter* might have hindred him

him from declaring and exerciſing this Empire over them; yet it is certain that there is nothing like this to be found. Nevertheleſs this doth not hinder but that the Pope and Cardinals whoſe eyes their own intereſt opens, as it blinds other peoples, have in their own opinions found very ſtrong proofs of it in the New Teſtament: They ſay for example, that our Saviour changed only St. *Peter*'s name; the reaſon as you ſee is without reply; for it follows very neceſſarily from thence, that St. *Peter* was the Head and King of the Church. But unluckily he alſo changed the names of the Children of *Zebedee*. They ſay alſo that he is ſometimes named the firſt; but if he be not ſo always, this will ſignifie nothing to them; but tho he had been always ſo, this would not prove that he had authority over the others as the Pope hath over the other Biſhops. Amongſt the Preſidents, the firſt hath no power over the others; nor amongſt the Electors of the Empire; the Elector of *Mentz*, who hath the firſt place, hath no authority over the other Electors; and ſo in all Societies the Primacy carries no dominion along with it: But beſides, if that reaſon ſhould take place, the Holy Virgin, who is ſometimes named the laſt in Scripture, would be greatly degraded from the place that belongs to her. If St. *Peter* were always named the firſt, that might have been given to his Age, as the Fathers ſay; and in truth we ought to attribute it to this, that our Saviour ſpoke ſo often to him, as well as to the fervency of his zeal, which as we ought to admire and commend, ſo alſo may we ſay that it was owing to the eagerneſs of his temper, which being not always well regulated, made him commit greater faults than any others of the Apoſtles (except the perfidious *Judas*) which made him be called Satan by his good Maſter, which none of the other were. We ought alſo to attribute to this temper the blow he gave *Malchus* with the Sword, as well as that warmth that made him promiſe wonders of Fidelity to his Maſter, and induced him to accompany him to the ~~Emperors Court~~ High-priests palace, where he denied his Saviour. So that it is with very little reaſon that they make an argument of this to prove his Royalty in the Church. In *Spain*, where the moſt Honourable walk the laſt, they will not fail to allege places where St. *Peter* is named laſt, as in the paſſage where it is ſaid, *I am the Diſciple of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas*, who is *Peter*. For I remember that at *Paris*, where they underſtand Divinity a little better than in *Spain*, a good Biſhop and an Abbot did maintain to me, that the paſſage where it is ſaid

that

that *James*, *Peter* and *John* are esteemed Pillars of the Church, I having alledged against them another where he is named the first, they maintained to me I say, that this passage confirmed that which they alledged and proved very well the Primacy of St. *Peter*. For said the Bishop, when three persons of worth are walking together, they always put the most Honourable in the middle. This is according to the common saying, That a Lawyer well paid shall always find the cause of his Client good: His Benefices made him see clear in this passage.

There are three other passages which the greatest part of our Doctors produce against our Adversaries with a little more colour, which are, *Thou art Peter*, &c. *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, &c. *Feed my sheep*. Which passages we shall examine one after another, to see if St. *Peter* had any privileg above the other Apostles; they say, that in the first of these passages Jesus Christ doth establish the Church, found it, and build it upon St. *Peter*. I do not deny but that St. *Peter* was one of the Pillars of the Church, because he is so called as well as *James* and *John*. Nor can it be denied, but that he was and is one of the foundations of the Church, since that he is not excepted out of the number of the Twelve, who in Scripture are called the Foundations of the New Jerusalem. But I maintain that the Church is no more founded upon him, than upon St. *Paul*, and the other Apostles. I would fain have these Gentlemen tell me, upon whom the Church was founded before St. *Peter*? and why the Church changed its foundation, and upon whom *Peter* himself was founded? It was without doubt upon Jesus Christ, upon the Rock which is the *Christ*. And it is without all question that St. *Peter* and we ought to have no other foundation than that which St. *Paul* had, who says, *That no man can lay any other foundation than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ*. Also we see in this passage, that it is upon the Rock, upon the Rock of Ages, that our Saviour builds his Church, and not upon St. *Peter*. The Holy Ghost would have changed neither name nor person, if he would have had us to have believed this of St. *Peter*. He would not have said, *Super hanc Petram, sed super te Petrum*. *Upon this Rock*, but *upon thee Peter*.

To the end that no difficulty may remain, we must observe what goes before, and what follows after. Jesus Christ had demanded of all the Apostles together, whom they thought he was? *Peter* either as the eldest or most zealous answers for all, and says to him, *Thou*

Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God. Whereupon Jesus Christ says to him, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, &c.* It is evident that as our Saviour's discourse was directed to all, and that *Peter* answered for all; the following part of our Saviours Discourse was directed also to them all, and related no more to *Peter* than to any other particular Apostle. And men must have lost their understandings to think, that Jesus Christ in this place founded his Church upon *Peter*, whom in the same Chapter he calls Satan. What Foundation would the Church have had, and what would have become of her when he deni'd his Saviour?

It must then necessarily be acknowledged, that it is not the visible Church that is here spoken of, which they pretend St. *Peter* to be the Head of: But the Invisible, the Society of the Faithful, and the Elect. For the Gates of Hell would have prevailed against the Church, not only when St. *Peter* denied his Master, since that the foundation being run to decay, that which is built upon it falls to ruin: But since that time have they not very often prevailed against this Church which they would have the Bishops of *Rome* the pretended Successors of St. *Peter* to be the Heads of? For Example, when according to the Fathers the whole World was *Arian* *, the Bishops of *Rome* and all their Flock; and so many other times as the Popes have been Magicians, Sodomites, Atheists, Hereticks, *&c.* And what would have become of the Church in the time of that great Schism that succeeded *Gregory* the Ninth, which lasted fifty years, when the *French* would not have an *Italian* Pope, nor the *Italians* a *French* one; and many Princes would have neither one nor other; to whom at length *Charles* the Sixth joined himself for three years, and the Kingdom of *France* was very well contented without a Pope; and many other Princes for a longer season. And what shall we say of that great Schism which the Popes made and caused with the *Greek* Church, by cutting them off, out of Devilish pride, from the Communion of the Church, because they would not submit to their yoke, but demanded the observation of the Canons? What shall we say also of that great Apostacy that happened about 130 or 140 years since, or thereabout, when so many States separated themselves from the Church, by reason of the Impiety and Tyranny of the Popes? Doth not all this prove that Hell hath prevailed against this exterior and visible Church, which the Popes govern, and whereof St. *Peter* according to them was the Head? It is then the *Invisible* Church which is here spoken of,

* Totus Orbis se Arianum esse miratus est. *Hieron.*

of the Society of the Faithful, the Heavenly *Jeruſalem*, whereof Jeſus Chriſt is the principal Corner-ſtone, upon which St. *Peter* himſelf ſaith believers are built as living ſtones. He ſays not it is on himſelf that they are built, but on the contrary, he pretends himſelf as well as others, to be one of theſe living ſtones which are built upon the Corner-ſtone, which is Chriſt. It is then upon the Rock confeſſed by *Simon Peter*, or upon his Confeſſion that the Church is founded; on that which he declared that Jeſus Chriſt was the true Meſſias, the Son of the Living God. And the Fathers underſtood it no otherwiſe. I do not pretend here to relate all that they have ſaid upon this ſubject, but only ſome clear paſſages: * *Origen* upon St. *Matthew* tells us, That if we ſay as *Peter* did, *Thou art the Chriſt*, &c. we are alſo what St. *Peter* was; and that it ſhall be alſo ſaid unto us what follows, *Thou art Peter*. For whoſoever is the Diſciple of Chriſt, the ſame is alſo *Peter*. And † St. *Cyprian* ſhews very well, that he did not believe that St. *Peter* was priviledged beyond the other Apoſtles, when he ſays, that the other Apoſtles were as conſiderable as Saint *Peter*, and that they were all equal in authority and power, but that our Lord to ſhew the Unity there ought to be in his Church, ſpeaks but to one, and that the firſt place was given to *Peter*. And in another place, *Our Lord*, ſays he, *gave to all his Apoſtles the ſame power after his Reſurrection, and ſaid to them, As the Father hath ſent me, ſo ſend I you.* * And Saint *Ambroſe*, *Our Lord ſaid to* Peter, *Upon this Rock*, &c. *that is to ſay, upon this Confeſſion of the Catholick Church, I ordain that Believers ſhall have life.* And in another place, † *What was ſaid to* Peter, *was ſaid to the other Apoſtles.* And St. *Hierom* ‖, *The Church is the Houſe built upon the firm Rock which is Chriſt.* * And in another place, *She was founded upon a Rock, that is to ſay, Chriſt; for this is the only foundation which the Apoſtle as a good Architect hath laid*, viz. *our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* * St. *Auguſtine*, *Our Lord ſaid, Upon this Rock*, &c. *becauſe that* Peter *had ſaid, Thou art the Chriſt*, &c. *Upon this Rock then which thou haſt confeſſed, will I build my Church. The Rock was Chriſt, upon whoſe foundation* Peter *himſelf was builded; for no man can lay any other foundation than that which hath been laid*, viz. *Jeſus Chriſt.* Ideo ait Dominus ſuper hanc Petram, *&c.* Quia dixerat Petrus tu es Chriſtus, *&c.* Super hanc ergo Petram quam confeſſus es ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. Petra erat Chriſtus ſuper quod fundamentum ipſe ædificatus eſt Petrus; nam nemo poteſt ponere aliud fundamentum quam id quod poſitum eſt, a Chriſto.

* *Origen* in Mat. chap. 16. Tract. 1.

‡ *Cypri.* de ſimplicitate Prælat.

Concil. Epheſ.

* *Ambr.* in Epiſt. ad Eph. cap. 2.

† *Ambr.* in Pſal. 32.

‖ *Hieron.* in Pſal. 40.

* *Idem* in Mat. 8.

* *Auguſt.* in Johan. Tract. 124.

The same * Author speaks in another place thus: *Quid est super hanc Petram? super id quod dictum est, Tu es Christus, super Petram quam confessus es, super hanc Petram quam agnovisti dicens, Tu es Christus, super me ædificabo te, non me super te. Nam volentes homines, super homines ædificare dicebant; Ego quidem sum Pauli, ego autem Apollo, ego autem Cephæ, ipse est Petrus; sed alii qui nolebant ædificare super Petrum, sed super Petram, dicebant; Ego sum Christi, &c. What is this saying, Upon this Rock? That is, upon this Faith, upon what was said, That thou art the Christ, upon this Rock which thou hast acknowledged, saying, Thou art the Christ: Upon me will I build thee, and not thee upon me; for they who would build upon men, said, I am of* Paul, *and I of* Apollos, *and I of* Cephas, *who is* Peter; *but those who would not build upon* Peter, *but upon the Rock, said, I am the Disciple of Christ.* This Holy Doctor hath a thousand such like sayings which I cannot relate to avoid being tedious. ‖ *Chrysostome* says also, *Upon this Rock, &c. That is to say, upon this Faith and Confession.* Super hanc Petram, hoc est super hanc fidem & confessionem. And * in another place, *Super hanc Petram, non dixit super Petrum, non enim super hominem, sed super fidem ædificavit Ecclesiam suam: Quæ autem erat fides? Tu es Christus filius Dei viventis. Upon this Rock, he did not say upon* Peter; *for he hath not built his Church upon a man, but upon Faith. What then was this Faith? Thou art the Christ the Son of the Living God.* * *Gregory Nyssen, Non Petrus & Johannes, & Jacobus tantum, sunt Ecclesiæ columnæ, sed omnes qui Ecclesiam sustentant.* Peter, James *and* John *are not the only Pillars of the Church, but all they who support the Church.* Methinks there needs no more to perswade every honest minded man, that the Fathers did not believe that Jesus Christ founded his Church upon St. *Peter* in particular, much less upon the Popes. I could easily produce a thousand other Evidences from the ancient Fathers, and even from many Doctors that lived within the last four or five hundred years; tho the truth hath been almost wholly stifled, and that by men perfectly sold to the Court of *Rome*, as well as to Iniquity. But I must not tire out my Reader. † The Jesuit *Salermon* alone, is worth a thousand of them, for he doth own that the Popes Authority hath no foundation in the Scripture, and he placeth it among Traditions not written. I demand only the liberty of confuting the abuse of two other places of Scripture, whereof we have spoken: One would think they were already sufficiently confuted by the passages which I have alledged; which prove that the Fathers did not believe that St. *Peter* had any

* *August.* de Verbo Dom. Serm. 60.

‖ *Chrysost.* in Matth. 16.

* *Chrysost.* in Sermone de Pentecost.

* *Gregor. Nyss.* lib. de vita Mosis.

† *Sal.* 13. Tom. 1. lib. com. in Epist. *Pauli.*

Prero-

Prerogative above the other Apoſtles; and here a Reflection may be made, which I think neceſſary to prevent the Cheat which may be put upon us in this matter, by producing ſome paſſages of the Fathers falſified or maimed, or elſe ſome Teſtimonies of the Doctors of the later times, who have been for the moſt part vile ſlaves to the Popes and the Court of *Rome*.

It muſt be conſidered that when upon ſuch a ſubject as this, a man ſhall pretend to alledg any thing of Antiquity, which ſeems to favour the opinion of St. *Peter*'s Primacy, that cannot counterballance what I have produced in ſhort againſt that Primacy, not only becauſe I can produce an hundred places againſt one which they ſhall alledg; but principally for this reaſon, that it is never allowable for any man to oppoſe the Inſtitutions of God, nor to miſunderſtand, deny, change, or diminiſh them. So that if St. *Peter* had had the Authority over the Apoſtles, and over the whole Church, which they pretend, and which the Popes at this time do exerciſe over Biſhops, Kings, and the whole Church, the Fathers never could deny it without a crime; nor could they ever equal him to the other Apoſtles without being guilty of Hereſie, and heinous offence againſt God. Whereas we may very lawfully ſpeak advantageouſly of the Ordinances and Inſtitutions of God, of Holy things, and every thing that conduceth to the true Worſhip of God, and conſequently of the Holy Apoſtles alſo, who were the admirable Organs of his Grace for the converſion of the World. We may, I ſay, ſpeak of them with praiſe and with wonder, with reſpect and veneration, and even attribute to them ſometimes names and degrees of excellency, which do not belong to them without any prejudice to Piety, provided they are not attributes nor honours which are appropriated only to the Divine Being, for then it would be Idolatry, as it is to attribute that to the Pope which belongs only to *Jeſus Chriſt*. For example, in reference to the great men of this world, it is very allowable to ſpeak to the advantage of a Miniſter of State, to whom a great King ſhall communicate a part of his Authority for his ſervice: It is very fit to commend him, and to extoll him even above his merit, by reaſon of the good qualities which appear in him, or the favours which he receives from the King; provided that the reſpect and obedience due to the King be inviolably kept; but it would be a crime to leſſen or contemn him, eſpecially when the proſperity, tranquillity and ſafety of the State depends upon him. So I maintain, that tho

the Fathers had said a thousand times of St. *Peter*, That the Church was founded upon him, and that he was the Head of it; If they have said sometimes that he was not so, and that he had nothing more excellent than the other Apostles, this last ought to prevail, because that the first was an expression of favour, and without danger, since they assert every where, that Jesus Christ is the only Head of the Church, and that it was hard to conceive that ever men should arrive to such excess of extravagancy as to think that one simple man could be the Head of the Universal Church. Whereas if St. *Peter* had been instituted by God in that quality, to deny it, would look like resisting God, destroying the Church, which would be established upon him, and dethroning Jesus Christ, by dethroning his Vicar. It must then be agreed to, whatever the Doctors of the Age say, that the Church is built upon Jesus Christ, and not upon a man; and we may say with *David*, That the stone which the builders refused, is in spight of them become the Corner-stone of the Church.

But let us come to the second passage: *Tibi dabo claves, &c. I will give thee the Keys, &c.* First of all you must know the occasion whereon this was said to him: Jesus Christ had asked this question of his Disciples, *Whom think you that I am*, &c. *Peter* with his wonted fervor spake and answered for all, *Thou art the Christ*, &c. And our Lord upon this promiseth to all his Apostles, and to the whole Church under the name of *Peter*, the Power of the Keys, which is indisputable, because in the 18 *Chap.* of St. *Matthew*, he tells them all in general, and without distinction the same thing, *Verily I say unto you, That whatsoever you shall bind upon Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever you loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* The other Apostles then, have this power as well as St. *Peter*; and we see it also in St. *John* the 20. and the 22. where Jesus Christ says to all his Apostles, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven; and whosesoever ye retain, they are retained.*

Let us see whether the Fathers be not against us. We have already heard St. *Cyprian*, * who says, *Christus Apostolis post Resurrectionem parem potestatem tribuit. Jesus Christ after his Resurrection gave an equal power to his Apostles.* † *Origen* demands, *An vero soli Petro dantur a Christo claves Regni Cælorum, nec alius beatorum quisquam eas accepturus est? Quod si dictum hoc, tibi dabo claves*, &c. *Cæteris quoque commune est, cur non simul & omnia & quæ prius dicta sunt, & quæ sequuntur velut ad Petrum dicta sunt omnium communia? Were the Keys of*

* Cypr. de Unitate Ecclesiæ.

† Origen. in Math. Tract. 1.

the Kingdom of Heaven given only to Peter, *and ſhall no other bleſſed perſon have them? Certainly if what was ſaid, I will give thee the Keys, be common to all the Apoſtles, why ſhall not all that goes before, and that follows after, tho ſaid only to* Peter, *be common to all?*

St. *Hilary* *, *Vos O ſancti & beati viri ob fidei veſtri meritum, claves Regni Cœlorum & ligandi & ſolvendi jus in terra adepti.* He ſpoke to the Apoſtles, *O holy and bleſſed men, who by the merits of your faith have obtained the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the power of binding and looſing upon Earth.* † St. *Hierom, At dicis ſuper Petrum fundatur Eccleſia, licet id ipſum, in alio loco ſuper omnes Apoſtolos fiat, & cunctis claves Regni Cœlorum accipiunt, & ex æquo ſuper eos, Eccleſiæ fortitudo ſolideturꝰ tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite conſtituto ſchiſmatis tollatur occaſio. Sed cur non Johannes electus eſt virgo? Ætati delatum eſt. Quia Petrus ſenior erat, ne adhuc adoleſcens ac pœne puer provectæ ætatis hominibus anteferretur, & ne cauſam præbere videretur invidiæ. But you ſay the Church is founded upon* Peter, *tho in other places the ſame thing is done upon all the Apoſtles, and they all receive equally the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and the ſtrength of the Church is equally founded upon one as well as another; nevertheleſs he choſe one out of the Twelve, to the end that by eſtabliſhing a Head he might take away the occaſion of Schiſm. But why was not* John *choſen? Jeſus Chriſt had regard to the age of* Peter, *who was the eldeſt, and would not prefer a young man, one that was almoſt a child, before thoſe who were more advanced in years, that he might not ſeem to give an occaſion for envy amongſt them.* † The ſame *Hierom* tells us, that the Miniſters under the Goſpel have alſo the power of binding, and of looſing, of pardoning ſins, or retaining them; that is to ſay, of judging when God doth pardon us or not. *Id juris & officii habent Sacerdotes Evangelici quod olim ſub lege habebent Legales in curandis Leproſis. Hi ergo peccata dimittunt vel retinent, dum dimiſſa a Deo, vel retenta judicant vel oſtendunt.* St. *Auguſtin* *, *Sicut in Apoſtolis cum eſſet etiam numerus duodenarius, & omnes eſſent interrogati, ſolus Petrus reſpondit, Tu es Chriſtus,* &c. *Et ei dicitur, Tibi dabo claves, tanquam ligandi & ſolvendi ſolus acceperit poteſtatem, cum & illud unus pro omnibus dixerit, & hoc cum omnibus dixerit, & hoc cum omnibus tanquam perſonam gerens ipſius unitatis acceperit. Ideo unus pro omnibus quia unitas eſt in omnibus. Amongſt the Apoſtles who were Twelve in number, tho they were all asked,* Peter *only anſwered, Thou art the Chriſt: and Jeſus Chriſt ſaid to him, I will give thee the Keys, as tho he alone had received the power of binding, and of looſing. Tho the truth is, that he ſaid that for all; and that he received alſo this power for all; becauſe that he repreſented the*

* St. *Hilary* lib. 6. *de Trinitate*, in the Council of *Epheſus* —— there is an Epiſtle of the Council of *Alexandria*, where are theſe words, *Petrus & Johannes & æquales ſunt ad alterutrum dignitatis.*

† Hieron. contra Jovian. lib. 1. cap. 14.

* Hieron. in Mat. 16.

‡ Auguſt. in Joh. Trac. 118.

the perſon of them all, and the union that there ought to be amongſt them. One ſpoke for all, becauſe the unity was in all. The ſame Father alſo ſays in another place, *Manifeſta eſt Sententia Domini noſtri Apoſtolos mittentis, & ipſis ſolis poteſtatem a patre ſibi datam promittentis, quibus nos ſucceſſimus eadem poteſtate Eccleſiam regentes :* That is to ſay, *We ſee clearly the intention of our Lord when he ſent out his Apoſtles, and promiſed them the ſame power which his Father had given him ; and we have ſucceeded them, governing the Church with the ſame power.*

* Id. in Epiſt. Joh. Tract. 10.

And ſo in other places, " Quando Petro dictum eſt, Tibi dabo " claves, *&c.* Typum Eccleſiæ gerebat, unus pro omnibus reſpon- " dit. When it was ſaid to *Peter*, I will give thee the Keys, *&c.* " he repreſented the Church, one ſingle perſon anſwered for all. And in another place, † " Eccleſiæ dictum eſt: Tibi dabo claves, " *&c.* It was ſaid to the Church, I will give thee the Keys, *&c.* *Theophylact* alſo, " Habent poteſtatem remittendi & ligandi quicun- " que ſicut Petrus Epiſcopatus gratiam aſſecuti ſunt, quamvis au- " tem Petro ſoli dictum ſit, Dabo tibi ; omnibus tamen Apoſtolis " conceſſæ ſunt. That is to ſay, All they have the power of remit- " ting and unlooſing, who as St. *Peter* have obtained the Honour " of being Biſhops ; for tho it were ſaid to *Peter* alone, I will give, " *&c.* yet the Keys were given to all the Apoſtles. And *Leo* the " firſt, † " Tranſivit etiam in alios Apoſtolos vis poteſtatis iſtius, & " ad omnes Eccleſiæ Principes Decreti hujus conſtitutio commeavit, " ſed non fruſtra uni commendavit, quod omnibus intimetur. Pe- " tro idem ideo hoc ſingulariter creditur, quia cunctis Eccleſiæ " rectoribus Petri forma proponitur; manet ergo Petri privilegium, " ubicunq; fertur ex ipſius æquitate Judicium. That is to ſay, " That the power of the Keys was given alſo to all the Apoſtles ; " and not only to them, but to all Biſhops ; and that it was not " without deſign that our Lord committed to one what he intima- " ted to all : For thereby the example of *Peter* is propoſed to all " them who have a ſhare in the Government of the Church. Where- " ever then any one judges as *Peter* did, there is the priviledg of " *Peter* alſo to be found. And it is to be obſerved that *Leo* ſaid this in a time when the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* would have had the Primacy.

* Auguſt. in Joan. Tra. 124.

† Idem in Joan. Tract. the 10.

Theoph. in Mat. *chap.* 16.

† *Leo* in Anniver. die aſſumptionis ſuæ ad Pontif. Sermone 3.

I think theſe Evidences are ſufficient to ſhew the injuſtice of the Popes, who attribute to St. *Peter* alone thoſe things which he had in common with all the other Apoſtles, and all good Paſtors, and that to uſurp an authority which neither St. *Peter* nor any other

Creature

Creature ever could have; and though it were possible that St. *Peter* or any other might have had it, the Popes have less right to pretend to it than any other Priest, because that they are but Temporal Princes; For under the Gospel men derogate both from Episcopacy and Priesthood, when they become Temporal Princes; and it is certain that according to the Scripture and the Holy Canons, these two things are inconsistent. They ought to consider which they will stand to: I am perswaded they would not contradict themselves in the matter, but would always hold to the Temporal, which they call the *solid* thing, as Cardinal *Palavicini* † very well observes, that they desire the Popedom only for the vast quantities of Money which they get by it, with the means of Obliging and doing Courtesies; *Due beni per cui soli appar Desiderable il Pontificato, il Principiato dell Oro e del Obligo.* And in the Age we live in, they would be in danger of not making so much of their Episcopacy as *Boniface* the third did by *Phocas*; and if they should let their Beast but once get loose, they would find it a hard matter to get up again.

† *Palavicini* lib. 4. c. 6.

But besides, I think I ought here to put you in mind of one thing, which is, that the power of binding and loosing is not what the Popes and many evil minded Priests would make us believe; for I do maintain, not only that the Pope cannot free a man from the guilt of his Crimes, and from the punishment due to them, no more than the meanest Priest, as * *Marsilius* of *Padua* heretofore said; but also, that neither one nor other of them hath any power of pardoning Sins, but as far as it doth appear to them that God doth pardon them, and that properly it belongs not to them but to God. I shall be asked how the Priest or the Pope knows when God pardons any mans Sins: And I ask them, by what Authority they can dispence with the punishments a man hath deserved for having offended God, without there be some appearance of Contrition in this Man? I know very well there are many who affirm that the Pope can do it, and others who pretend that *attrition* is sufficient; but it will be no hard matter for me to prove that these Opinions are both foolish and Impious: It is God only that can truly pardon Sins, and he never does it but to the Contrite Heart, that is to say, to those who have a real sorrow within themselves for having offended so good and so merciful a God; and who make a firm Resolution to forsake their Sins, and to punish themselves

* *Marsilius* Patav. p. 2. c. 15.

Should ask the

selves by Repentance, and by the Mortification of their Flesh, and of their Passions, and who will as much as in them lies in reference to men, repair their crimes by making Satisfaction to all those they have wronged: and Lastly, who have made a Vow to endeavour all their Life-time to root up all their evil habits. When these Dispositions do not appear in a Penitent, the Pastor cannot pardon his Sins; and when they do appear, he cannot refuse to give him Absolution. The Holy Scripture mentions no other power of binding and loosing Sinners, but doth detest the use which the Popes make of it, who Excommunicate whomsoever they please, even Kings themselves, and whole Nations for no other reason than their Fantasy, † St. *Hierom* made light enough of these Excommunications, when he said, *Apud Deum non Sententia Sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæritur.* * And in an other place, *Solvunt Apostoli Sermone Dei, testimoniis Scripturarum & Exhortatione virtutum.* That is to say, that *God enquires not after the Priests Opinion, but what sort of life a Sinner hath led. It is the word of God, the Evidences of Holy Scripture, and Exhortations to vertue, by which the Apostles do Absolve,* * St. *Ambrose* also, *Verbum Dei*, says he, *dimittit peccata, Sacerdos est Judex, Sacerdos officium suum exhibet, nullius autem potestatis jura exercet; It is the word of God*, says he, that *pardons Sins, the Priest is the Judge who doth his Duty (in judging according to this Word) but exerciseth no Authority.* And St. *Augustin.* † *Claves sunt discernendi scientia & potentia qua dignos recipere & indignos excludere debet Sacerdos a Regno Dei. The Keys*, saith he, *signifie no other thing than the Knowledge and Skill of discerning those who are Worthy, and those who are Unworthy, that the Priest may Exclude them from the Kingdom of God.*

‡ *Hierom* in Math. cap. 16.

* Idem in Esaiam cap. 14.

* St. Amb. cap. 4 lib. 2. de Cain & Abel.

† August. in Johan. tract. 124.

It is now time to examine the third passage which they alledge for the Primacy of St. *Peter*, which you find in the 21 of St. *John*. *Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my Sheep?* From whence they draw this Consequence, that St. *Peter* was the Head of the Universal Church; It is certain that he was one of the most excellent Pastors of the Church; but notwithstanding that, he was not a Pastor to any of the Apostles, nor to any other Christians, but as the other Apostles were; For our Lord says to them all in common: *As my Father hath sent me, so send I you*; and in another place, *Go* then *and teach all Nations*, &c. Which is the same thing as if he had said to them all, *Feed my Sheep*. What is to *Feed*, but to Teach, Instruct, and Edify as well by Speaking as Writing, by Preaching, and Explaining

ing to men the word of God and its Truth, accompanying that with a life conformable to that Holineſs the Goſpel requires; Which is called *paſcere Exemplo & verbo*? But they ask why our Lord repeated three times, Peter *loveſt thou me, Feed my Sheep*? † St. *Auguſtin* anſwers that *Redditur Negationi Trinæ Trina Confeſſio*, &c. St. *Cyril* underſtands it alſo in the ſame ſenſe, *Jure nunc ab eo Trina dilectionis Confeſſio petitur, ut trina negatio æquali Confeſſionis numero Compenſetur: Ita quod verbis commiſſum fuit verbis curatur*, &c. *Dixit autem paſce Agnos meos Apoſtolatus ipſi Renovans dignitatem ne propter Negationem quæ Humana infirmitate accidit, labefactata videretur*, &c. That is to ſay, *Our Saviour had reaſon to demand a three-fold Confeſſion of his love towards him, to Recompence in ſome meaſure* Peters *thrice denying him*, &c. *And he ſays unto him, Feed my Sheep, to renew unto him the Dignity of his Apoſtle-ſhip, from which he might ſeem to have fallen by denying his Maſter.* * St. Cyprian, *Paſtores ſunt omnes*, ſays he, *Sed grex unus oſtenditur qui ab Apoſtolis omnibus unanimi Confeſſione paſcatur. Epiſcopatus unus eſt cujus a ſingulis in ſolidum pars tenetur.* They were all *Paſtors, but he ſhewed them but one Flock, which all the Apoſtles were to feed with an Unanimous conſent.* St. Auguſtin, * *In Petro unitatem Commendavit; multi erant Apoſtoli & uni dicitur paſce oves meas*, &c. *Sed omnes boni paſtores in uno ſunt, unum ſunt Illi paſcunt, Chriſtus paſcit*, &c. *He recommended the unity in the perſon of* Peter; *there were many Apoſtles; he ſaid nevertheleſs but to one of them, Feed my Sheep*, &c. *But all good Paſtors are in one, and are but one. They feed, Chriſt feedeth*, &c. The ſame Father ſays in another place; *In uno Petro figurabatur unitas omnium Paſtorum ſed Bonorum. In* Peter *only was repreſented the unity of all Paſtors; but that is to ſay, of all good Paſtors.* Chryſoſtom, * *tum oſtenſurus es eximiam tuam Dilectionem in Chriſtum, cum paveris ejus gregem, cum ſcriptum ſit ſi diligis me, paſce Oves meas.* *Then* ſaid he to St. *Baſil*, *thou wilt ſhew thy love towards Jeſus Chriſt, if thou feedeſt his Flock as it is written, Loveſt thou me? feed my Sheep.* St. *Peter* himſelf explains to us theſe words, and ſhews that he was himſelf far from pretending to the quality of Univerſal Paſtor, Excluding the other Apoſtles; becauſe he doth acknowledge that even the Prieſts are Paſtors as well as himſelf, and that the Flock of Chriſt is committed to their charge as well as to his; which they ought to feed not out of a ſhameful deſire of gain; but by a diſintereſted Charity, not in lording it over the Heritage, or over the Clergy of the Lord; But by giving themſelves a good example to their Flock: How many reproofs are here in a few words againſt the Pope and evil Prieſts?

† Aug. in Johan. tract. 123. cap. 210.

St. Cyril. in Joh. lib. 12. cap. 64.

* Cypr. de unitate Eccleſiæ.

* St. Aug. de Paſtor.

Idem in ſermone de Petro & Paulo.

* Chryſoſt. lib. 2. de ſacerdote.

St. Peter the 1. c. 5. v. 1. 2. 3.

These are the places of Scripture which they cite with the greatest colour for the papacy of St. *Peter*, which as they explain them, are I think sufficiently confuted. One may say of them, as heretofore the Council of *Basil* said to the Creatures of Pope *Eugenius*, who also corrupted the Sence of these Passages. *Sunt Interpretationes Paparum fimbrias suas extendentium.* * These are Interpretations of Popes, that stretch out the Skirts of their Garments. To these which I have already given, I shall yet add some reasons drawn from the Gospel itself, against this pretended Primacy and Rule of St. *Peter*. I shall not repeat that we see nothing in the Gospel but Precepts of Humility, of Charity, of renouncing the World, its Grandures, Pleasures and Riches, But I shall say that we read in the Acts of the Apostles, † that St. *Peter* was sent to *Samaria* by the other Apostles. A Prince is not usually treated thus by his Subjects: * We see also that in another place, having been accused by the others for misbehaving himself, he justifies himself; This looks not like a Soveraign. Wonld the Pope endure this from the Bishops, or from any other? We see not that he gave Laws to others, that he established any thing by his own private Authority, without the other *Bishops*. * St. *Paul* says expresly, that he was not inferior to the greatest of the Apostles: In St.† *Matthew* and St. *John*, it is manifest, that Jesus Christ gave to all his Apostles the same power. * And in the Epistle to the *Galatians*, that *Peter*, *James* and *John* gave their hands to each other, as a mark of the Society that was between them. Would the Pope give his in this manner to the other Bishops? We see that at the Council of *Jerusalem*, it was not St. *Peter*, but St. *James*, who presided and concluded. We read in the Epistle to the *Galatians*, ‖ that St. *Paul* and he agreed together, that St. *Paul* should go and Preach to the *Gentiles*, and St. *Peter* to the *Jews*.

If St. *Peter* had known that he had been the Head of the Church, he would not in all likelihood have suffered, that his Ministry should have been thus limited, or that the Ministry or Power of St. *Paul* should have been of an extent an hundred times greater than his, especially if he had been of the humour of our good Popes. If any Bishop should pretend to govern the Church of *France* or *Spain* without them, it is to be believed, that it would not be very pleasing to them; and from hence by the way, one may judge that Saint *Peter* had nothing to do at *Rome*, nor was he ever there, as they imagine. There is yet somewhat of greater

* Conc. Basil apud Æne. Sil. in gestis Concil.

† Acts cap. 8. v. 14.

* Acts 11. v. 1.

* 1 Corin. chap. 11. v. 5.

† Math. 28. v. 20.

* John 20. v. 22. 23.

‖ Gal. 2. v. 9, Gal. 2. v. 7.

weight then all this; That is, that St. *Paul* tells us he withſtood St. *Peter* to his face, becauſe he deſerved reproof. This looks as if St. *Paul* had had ſome Authority over St. *Peter*: We hear not that he reproached him for his Arrogance, nor that he Excommunicated him. It muſt be acknowledged that here is a great difference between the proceedings of the Pope, and thoſe of St. *Peter*: For it is certain that if a Biſhop ſhould at this day dare to diſpleaſe the Majeſty of the Pope, he ſhould be ſoon ſwallowed up and deſtroyed by his glory. I believe that *Origen* might have an eye to St. *Paul*'s thus correcting St. *Peter*, when he ſaid that St. *Paul* was the *greateſt of all the Apoſtles*; * *Paulus Apoſtolorum maximus*; or elſe he might alſo have regard to the great extent of St. *Pauls* Miniſtry, or to what he himſelf ſays, that he took more pains than all the other Apoſtles. And all the Fathers looked upon him, as he who among all the Apoſtles wrote the moſt profoundly, and with the greateſt light. This is what St. *Auguſtin* ſays of him. St. *Chryſoſtom* looks upon him as the firſt of all the Saints; and if there had been any Preheminence among the Apoſtles, he ſhould have been preferred before any other. We may ſay then, that the Popes in that Authority which they uſurp, have nothing common with St. *Peter*, nor can they be compared together, but in one thing, which is, that as St. *Peter* being come into *Pilates-Hall*, denyed Chriſt three times, the Popes ſince they have taken upon themſelves the Authority of Pilate, and of worldly Princes, have denyed him not three times, but once for all. *Una ſol volta in Corte di Pilato entro eſt Petro e tra rinego* Chriſto.

* *Origen* in Numeros, Hom. 3.

Thus we ſee that in the Holy Scripture there is not one word that can in the leaſt authorize the Popes Supremacy. And we may compare thoſe who eſtabliſh it there, to poor Heralds, who to get a little money, do very frequently make people meanly deſcended, to derive from the Ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Emperors, becauſe the Cullyes have gotten an Eſtate, and are become rich, tho moſt uſually 'tis only by Rogueries and Robberies. And it is not difficult thus to deceive people, who always admire thoſe that are rich and able to do them a kindneſs. They never enquire how they came by it as the *Spaniard* ſays, *Alcanſados los honores quedan Borrados los paſſos, perdende ſe ſubio a ellos*. Since then that the new Teſtament doth not acknowledg this Authority of the Popes, but abſolutely condemn it; it hath no lawful Inſtitution for a Doctrine of that Importance as the Primacy of the Pope is, whereon they make the whole Go-

vernment of the Church, Religion it ſelf, and the Salvation of all Chriſtians to depend, being not to be found in Scripture, cannot be but falſe. For though it be true that there are ſome Cuſtoms and Ceremonies in the Church which are not to be found in Scripture, and which the Proteſtants are greatly in the wrong, obſtinately to reject, becauſe that Tradition, and the uſe or practiſe of the Church, have ſo long ſince given them ſufficient Authority, as they themſelves acknowledg; yet that cannot be ſaid of this Article, which according to the Popes, and the greateſt part of the Doctors, is Capital; and ſo Capital they would willingly perſwade us, that without it the reſt ſignifies nothing. It was very impiouſly ſaid of Cardinal *Palavicini* in his Third Book of his Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, *Chap.* the 15. *That the Chriſtian Religion hath no more ſure and immediate certainty than the Popes Authority. Quella Religione, i ſui Articoli Unitamente conſiderati non hanno Altera Certezza proſſima & immediata che l'Autorita del Pontifice.* We ſee clearly, that if this Authority were laid aſide, they would renounce the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, as piety hath been already renounced by them.

CHAP. II.

That the Primitive Church knew not the Papacy. The Vanity of ſome Humane Reaſons, by which for want of the Scriptures and the Fathers they would eſtabliſh it.

LET us now ſee if the Primitive Church did acknowledg a power in the Church like to that of the Popes. Altho that which hath been already alledged from the Holy Fathers proves ſufficiently, that they knew not the Papacy, let us however examine the thing a little more particularly. We are told then that St. *Peter* was Head of the Church, that he was at *Rome*, that he was a Biſhop there, that he died there, that he reſigned that Charge of Head of the Church, and of Biſhop, but not that of an Apoſtle to a Succeſſor; which Succeſſor he either choſe, or the Church of *Rome* did it after his death, by the power which he had given her; which things are all of them very difficult to prove, and certainly very

very falſe; for a thing of this conſequence ought not to be founded upon conjectures of meer probabilities, but we ought to have as certain and as exact a knowledg of it as of any other Article of our Religion. And yet we ſee that they who have ſpoken of St. *Peter*'s coming to *Rome*, and of his Death there, have ſaid it upon ſuch miſerable grounds, and ſay ſo many contradictory things as well of it as of his pretended Succeſſor, that there is nothing more uncertain in all Antiquity. But beſides this, none of them ever believed, no nor ſo much as ſuſpected that St. *Peter* was Head of the Univerſal Church. And the contradiction and little certainty that is in theſe Authors, ſhews ſufficiently that in the Primitive times it was not believed that this was neceſſary to be known; nor did they in the leaſt ſuſpect that ever any body would endeavour to lay upon it the foundation of that horrible Authority which the Popes do Exerciſe.

To give you ſome Inſtances of their Contradictions, I need only to ſhew you that ſome ſay it was *Linus* who ſucceeded *Peter*; others *Clement*; and laſtly, others ſay it was *Anacletus*; ſome will have it that St. *Peter* founded this Church, and was the firſt that Preached at *Rome*. Others maintain, namely *Dorotheus*, that it was *Barnabas*. * *Barnabas primus Romæ prædicavit.*

* *Dorot. Tyrenſis* in Synopſi.

And St. *Paul* ſhews us clearly that it was he himſelf who founded that Church; for he complains that coming to *Rome*, he found that the Jews there, who had embraced Chriſtianity, were but very little inſtructed in the Doctrine of the Chriſtian Religion. Who can believe that if St. *Peter* had been there, and had founded this Church, he would not have inſtructed them better? And what is yet more, St. *Paul* ſays expreſly in another place, that he would not go and preach, where others had preached before him; becauſe he would not build upon the Foundation of others. As for the manner of his Death, ſome ſay he was Crucified with St. *Paul*; Others, that he was beheaded, and *Linus* the pretended ſucceſſor of St. *Peter*, who writes the Hiſtory of St. *Pauls* Death, ſays not one word of St. *Peters*. St.† *Hierom* though a *Roman*, and *Nicolas de Lyra* aſſures us, that he was Crucified at *Hieruſalem*: And St. *Hierom* ſays in another place alſo, that his Sepulcher is in *Hieruſalem*. Thus we ſee what reaſon they have to build an Article of Faith ſo monſtrous, as the Popes Supremacy is, upon an imaginary Conjecture, that hath no Foundation that St. *Peter* was at *Rome*. But how comes it then to paſs, may ſome ſay, that many of the Fathers both believed,

† *Hierom* in Matth. cap. 23. lib. 4. *Lyran* in 1. Petri.

lieved, and ſaid, that St. *Peter* was at *Rome*? It was, becauſe they did not examine the thing, believing it uſeleſs; and they did not foreſee the dreadful Conſequences that the Biſhops of *Rome* would draw from it: They grounded it upon that place of St. *Peters* Epiſtle, where it is ſaid, *the Church which is at* Babylon, *ſaluteth you*; Interpreting *Rome* by *Babylon*, without any reaſon; becauſe there were two other *Babylons*, the one in *Meſopotamia* where *Bagdet* is; and the other in *Ægypt* near *Memphis*, where it is certain there were many *Jews* who were under St. *Peter*'s Miniſtry. As for the pretended combat between St. *Peter* and *Simon Magus*, the Learned acknowledg that it was but a fiction.

But put the caſe St. *Peter* had been at *Rome*, what advantage can the Biſhops of *Rome* make of it? That he had left at *Rome* his Charge of Univerſal Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt? But on what do they found this pretence? If he had done it, it would plainly have been united to his Apoſtleſhip, rather than to the quality of a Biſhop; and ſo by conſequence could not have been communicated to any other than an Apoſtle, and ſo St. *James*, or St. *John*, who continued alive long time after him, ſhould have inherited it, and not *Linus* nor any other; and they would have tranſported it to *Jeruſalem*, or to *Epheſus*, which were their Churches, if the Town of *Rome* had not had ſome particular privileges (which no man knows) that affixed this Dignity to that City, in which caſe one of theſe two Apoſtles ought to have come and reſided there. However it is likely that St. *James* or St. *John*, who without all controverſie lived a great while after him, ſhould rather have ſucceeded him in this admirable Charge than a ſimple Prieſt or Biſhop, as *Linus*. If the City of *Rome* pretends to derive this Prerogative from St. *Peter*'s having been there, and Preached the Goſpel, (which cannot be proved) the Church of *Antioch* ought to be preferred before it, for it is certain both by the Scriptures and by the Fathers, that he was there, and Preached there before it was poſſible for him to do it at *Rome*. And upon this it was that they built that Revelation of the See of *Peter*'s being removed from *Antioch* to *Rome*, which you find in the Decrees of *Gratian*, in the Epiſtle of Pope *Marcellus* (*a*); which Impoſture they contrived, becauſe they could find nothing in the Scripture that could favour their pretences. Beſides, if St. *Peter* had had a Succeſſor in this pretended Charge, how comes it to paſs that the Primitive Church that compiled the Canon of Books, which ought to regulate the Faith of the Church, hath not comprehended therein

(*a*) Cauſ. 84. q. 5. Can. rogamus.

therein the Works of *Linus*, or of *Clement*, who wrote enough, and yet hath inſerted thoſe of St. *James*, and of St. *John*, who ought to be much inferior in Infallibility, and in Sanctity to the Vicar-General of Jeſus Chriſt upon Earth, and who ought to have been his Subjects, and to have taken the Oath of Fidelity to him as they do at this day to his Holineſs? But a man may well wonder that *Clement*, who according to ſome Writers was his Succeſſor, and who, be he what he will, muſt have lived very near that time, knew nothing of it. 'Tis ſeen by his firſt Epiſtle to St. *James* (*a*) where he terms him Biſhop of Biſhops; and in another place he brings in St. *Peter*, ſaying, *Jacobus Epiſcopus accercitum me inde huc Cæſaream mittit.* That is to ſay, *That the Biſhop James ſent him into Cæſarea.* It is yet a little ſurpriſing that the Fathers of the Primitive Church who compoſed the Canon of our Faith, that is the Creed *; ſhould forget to place after the *Catholick Church* the Biſhop of *Rome*, who is the Head of it, and without whom as they ſay it is like a Body without a ſoul, or a Veſſel expoſed to the tempeſt without a Pilot. That Article doth it ſelf ſufficiently exclude all dependance upon any particular See. And the other, *I believe the Communion of Saints*, doth alſo eſtabliſh Jeſus Chriſt the only Head of the Church, and condemns its being ſubject to an humane Head. And St. *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, or ſome other of thoſe times who in his name compoſed a Treatiſe of the Hierarchy, and ſays not one word of a Biſhop of Biſhops, and Head of the Church, ſhews that in thoſe times people did not believe that the Hierarchy could not ſubſiſt without him. Saint *Gregory* alſo Biſhop of *Rome* was wholly ignorant of theſe pretended Priviledges of his Biſhoprick; for he acknowledges in his Regiſter to *Eulogius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, that the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and of *Antioch*, are Succeſſors of St. *Peter*, and that they ſit in the Chair of *Peter* as well as the Biſhops of *Rome*. Nor was *Irenæus* any more perſwaded that the Biſhops of *Rome* alone had this advantage, when having reproved *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*, who by a ridiculous raſhneſs had Excommunicated for a matter of ſmall importance all the Churches of *Aſia*, (which was concerning the difference of the day whereon *Eaſter* was to be kept) he ſays to him (*b*), *Presbyteri Eccleſiæ cui nunc præſides, Anicetum dicimus, Ejum, Hyginum, Teleſphorum & Chriſtum; neque ipſi ſic obſervarunt, neque poſteris ſuis ſic præceperunt.*

(*a*) *Clem.* Epiſt. 1. Fratri Domini Epiſcopo Epiſcoporum, &c.

* Lib. 1. Recognitionum ubi Petrus.

(*b*) *Iren.* apud Euſebium, lib. 5. cap. 26, & 27.

Obſerve by the way the modeſty of the Biſhops of thoſe times, they affected no other quality than that of *Prieſt*, as we alſo ſee in the

the Gospel that Bishops are there sometimes called Priests: It was not in contempt that St. *Ireneus* called them so, but because that in those blessed times the Bishops were humble, and were ambitious of no other Title. But now-a-days a Priest is called, *My Lord Abbot*, an Abbot takes the Arms of a Bishop, a Bishop of a Cardinal, a Cardinal equals himself to Princes, and will even take the place of them. And the Bishops of *Rome* (who in those times were humble, and desired no other Crown than that of Martyrdom) now raise themselves above Soveraigns, Kings and Emperors, wear a Triple Crown which these Villains call *Il Regno*, for a mark of their Royalty, tread even Emperors under their feet, make them kiss their Slippers, and treat them like fools.

(a) *Cusan* lib. 1. cap. 14.

Cardinal *Cusan* confirms to us what St. *Gregory* said before (*a*), *In Cathedra Petri*, says he, *Patriarchæ leguntur sedisse, Romanus, Alexandrinus, & Antiochenus, & cum illis omnes subjecti Episcopi*; that is to say, *We read that the three first Patriarchs who sat in the Chair of* Peter, *were he of* Rome, *he of* Alexandria, *and he of* Antioch, *and with them all the Bishops who were under them.* Let a man read the Writings of *Gregory*, of *Gelasius*, and of *Leo*, who were all Popes, and he shall see that they all acknowledg that all good Bishops are Successors of St. *Peter*; and altho they sometimes failed not to demonstrate sufficiently their Ambition, and the desire they had to make the other Bishops their subjects, yet it was not in quality of Heads of the Church, much less by vertue of any Text of Scripture. And we find not that for the first six Centuries any man dared to bring so much as one passage of Scripture to establish the Primacy of the Bishoprick of *Rome*, * St. *Ambrose* is not at all favourable to them, when he says, *Primatus Petri, Confessionis erat, non Honoris, fidei non ordinis:* That the Primacy of *Peter* was a Primacy of Confession, and not of Honour; of Faith, and not of place.

* *Amb.* de Incarnatione c. 14.

St. *Cyprian* whom we have already mention'd, says farthermore, in another place, (*b*) *Neque enim quisquam nostrum se Episcopum Episcoporum constituit ut Tyrannico terrore ad Obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigat, cum habeat omnis Episcopus pro licentia libertatis & Potestatis suæ Arbitrium proprium, tanquam judicari ab alio non possit, cum nec ipse possit Alterum judicare sed expectamus Universi Judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi qui unus & solus habet potestatem & præponendi nos in Ecclesiæ suæ Gubernatione & de Actu nostro judicandi. There is none among us who pretendeth to be a Bishop of Bishops, that by a Tyrannical power he may oblige any of his Colleagues to the necessity of being subject to him; since*

(b) *Cyprian* in Conc. Carth. ive de Sent. Episcoporum.

ſince that every Biſhop being his own Maſter, and independent on any other, cannot be judged by another, nor can he judg another, but we ought all to expect the judgment of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who only hath the power of eſtabliſhing us over his Church, and of judging of our behaviour in it. (*b*) The ſame St. *Cyprian* calleth *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome* his Colleague: *Stephanum Collegam noſtrum, ut & Cornelium noſtrum co-Epiſcopum.* And *Cornelius* our *Fellow-Biſhop.* He ſpeaks of two Biſhops of *Rome.* And in another place he ſhews that he thought he had as great a ſhare in the Government of the whole Church as the Biſhop of *Rome.* (*c*) *Omnes enim*, ſays he, *decet pro corpore totius Eccleſiæ, cujus per varias quaſq; Provincias membra digeſta ſunt, excubare.* And in another place, (*d*) *Divina & Paterna Pietas in nobis Apoſtolatus ducatum contulit & Vicariam Domini ſedem cœlesti dignatione ornavit.* That is to ſay, *The Goodneſs of God hath conferred upon us the conduct of the Apoſtleſhip; and hath adorned by his Heavenly Grace the deputed See of the Lord which we hold.* And furthermore, (*e*) *Chriſtus dicit ad Apoſtolos ac per hos ad omnes præpoſitos qui Apoſtolis Vicaria Ordinatione ſuccedunt; Qui vos audit me audit. Jeſus Chriſt ſaith to all the Apoſtles, and in the perſons of them to all Biſhops who ſucceed the Apoſtles, being their Subſtitutes by Ordination, Whoſoever heareth you, heareth me.* He ſhews in theſe places, that he pretended that his Church was an Apoſtolick See, and that he was the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt as well as the other Biſhops (*f*). In his 55 Epiſtle he ſays that a man muſt be a fool or a mad man to believe that the Authority of the Biſhops of *Africa* was leſs than that of the Biſhop of *Rome*, to whom abundance of profligate wretches did reſort that ſo they might avoid the giving an account of their actions to the Biſhops of *Africa*, and the being puniſht for their crimes.

(*b*) Cyprian lib. 3. Epiſt. 21.

(*c*) Id. Ep. 30.

(*d*) Idem de Aleatoribus.

(*e*) Idem ad Puppienum. Ep. 66.

(*f*) Idem in Epiſt. 55.

After his death a Council aſſembled at *Carthage*, did ordain (*g*), *Ut primæ ſedis Epiſcopus non appelletur princeps Sacerdotum aut primus Sacerdos ſed tantum primæ ſedis Epiſcopus:* That the Biſhop of the firſt See *ought not to be called Prince or chief of the Prieſts, or any thing of this kind, but only the Biſhop of the firſt See.* And the Council of *Nice* marking out the bounds of the extent of each Patriarchal See, ſays thus (*h*), *There is an ancient cuſtom whereby the Biſhop of* Alexandria *doth govern all the Dioceſſes of* Egypt, *of* Lybia, *and of* Pentapolis, *as alſo it is a long time ſince that the Biſhop of* Rome *hath preſided over thoſe which he now governeth, and ſo likewiſe the Biſhop of* Antioch. Upon which Cardinal *Cuſan* makes this reflexion: (*i*) *We ſee*, ſays he, *how much the Biſhop of* Rome *hath gotten againſt the Holy Conſtitu-*

(*g*) In Conc. Africano, Art. 6.

(*h*) Concil. Nicen. Can. 6.

(*i*) Cuſan de Concord. Catholicâ, lib. 2. c. 12.

tions,

tions by the long uſe of a ſubmiſſion, which hath been given him, and which was not due to him. (*a*) This Decree of the Council of *Nice* was ſince confirmed by the Councils of *Antioch*, of *Calcedon*, and of *Conſtantinople*. *Theodoret* produceth a Letter of the Council of *Conſtantinople*, which ſufficiently ſhews the place which the Biſhops of *Rome* held at that time: it begins thus (*b*), *To our moſt Reverend and dear Brethren and Colleagues*, Damaſus, Ambroſe, Brillo, Valerian, *and all the other Holy Biſhops aſſembled together in the Great City.* (*c*) *Euſebius* alſo relates to us another Letter which the Council of *Antioch* aſſembled againſt the Hereſie of *Paulus Samoſatenus* writes to the Biſhop of *Rome*, which begins thus: *To* Dionyſius, *to* Maximus, *and to all thoſe who are Miniſters with us: Com-Miniſtris noſtris, throughout the whole world, Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, and all the Church under Heaven.* Would a man now in good earneſt in this corrupt age write thus to our Holy Father the Pope? (*d*) *Theodoret* relates to us in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that the Emperour *Conſtantius* was very urgent with the Biſhop of *Rome*, *Liberius*, to embrace the Communion of the other Churches, which ſhews that he alſo knew not that *Rome* was the Mother of the other Churches. The Emperors *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, (*e*) and *Theodoſius*, in the year 380, propoſed *Rome* and *Alexandria*, for Models of the Orthodox Faith. Ordaining that all the world ſhould follow the Faith of *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and of *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. And after the firſt Council of *Conſtantinople*, as tho they would have the Center of Chriſtian Communion in the Eaſt only, they order without mentioning *Rome*, that all Churches ſhould be conferred upon thoſe who joyned in Communion with *Nectarius* Biſhop of *Laodicea*, and *Diodorus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, in the Dioceſs of the Eaſt, with *Amphilochus* Biſhop of *Iconium*, &c. If the Biſhops of *Aſia*, of *Cilicia*, and of *Meſopotamia*, had believed that the Communion of the Biſhop of *Rome* had been neceſſary for their Churches, they would never all have been excluded from its Communion, during 140 years, as they were, after that *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome* had Excommunicated them for a Trifle; for if they had pleaſed they might have been reconciled to the Church of *Rome* by ſubmitting to the Laws of that Biſhop. (*f*) St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzen* writing to the Clergy of the Church of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, ſpeaks to them thus: *It is juſt that care ſhould be taken of the whole Church, as of the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, chiefly of yours which hath been from the beginning the Mother of almoſt all the Churches, which is ſo at this time, and is ſo eſteemed, and to*

(*a*) Concil. Antioch. c. 13. Concil. Calcedon, Act. 16. Concil. Conſtant. c. 1.

(*b*) Theodor. lib. 5 c. 9.

(*c*) Euſeb Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 7. cap 30.

(*d*) Theod l. 2. cap. 16.

(*e*) Cod. Theod l. 16. tit. 1. cap. 2.

(*f*) Greg Nazianz Ep. 22.

which

which the whole body of the Church relates as a Circle does to the Center, round which it is formed, &c. This holy man thought not the Church of *Rome* was the Center of all the Churches. (*a*) In the *Milevitan* Council where St. *Augustine* was present, it was Ordained, That those of *Africk* who should Appeal to *Rome* should be Excommunicated: These are the words: *We have adjudged that all Priests, Deacons, and other Inferior Ecclesiasticks who shall complain of their Bishops Administration, shall apply themselves to the Neighbouring Bishops, who by the consent of their own Bishops shall decide the Controversie between them: And if they will Appeal from their Opinions, let them not do it, but to the Councils of* Africa. *And if any man makes his Appeal to any place beyond the Seas* (here *Rome* must be understood) *let him be looked upon as an Excommunicated person by all* Africa (*b*). And since that time the same thing was Ordained in the Council of *Africa*, and this they give for their reason: "That no Council hath taken away "this Authority from the *African* Councils, and that the Decrees "of the Council of *Nice* have committed as well Priests, as the Bi"shops to the direction of their Metropolitans: Most prudently "and justly providing, that affairs should be determined upon the "place where they had their first beginnings; and that no Province "would ever want the assistance of the Holy Ghost to discern "equity; that any injured person might procure a Council of his "own Province, yea and appeal from that to a General one, and a "man must be a fool to think that God would not rather inspire "with the love and knowledg of Justice, a great number of Pre"lates assembled in Council, than a single person be he who he will. What stupidity and dulness is it that hinders Christians in these times from carrying it in the same manner towards *Rome*? (*c*) And the Council of *Constantinople* after having limited the bounds of each Patriarchal See, says that the Affairs of every Dioceſs ought to be Regulated by the Synods of the Dioceſs, and that in Confirmation of the Fourth Canon of the Council of *Nice*. (*d*) And in the sixth Canon it doth Enact. That if any man hath been vexed by the Bishop, let him complain of this Bishop to all the other Bishops of the Province; and if these Bishops cannot determine the affair, he ought to apply himself to a greater Synod of Bishops of that Dioceſs; whereby we see that the Bishop of *Rome* had in those days no Authority over other Bishops, but that every thing was then Regulated by Councils and by Synods. If an Archbishop, or a Metropolitan were accused, the Affair was determined by an Assembly of

(*a*) Concil. Milevitan, cap. 22.

(*b*) Concil. Africanum, cap. 105.

(*c*) Concil. Constant. c. 2. Can. 6.

(*d*) Concil. Nicen, can 4.

the Synod of the Dioceſs; and if any man appealed from thence, it was not to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but to a Synod compoſed of many Dioceſſes, which may be ſeen in the caſe of *Bagadius* Biſhop of *Boſtra* Metropolitan of *Arabia*, who having been Depoſed by ſome Biſhops of his Province, appealed from them, not to *Rome*, but to *Conſtantinople*, where quickly afterwards was aſſembled a Synod of many of the Eaſtern Dioceſſes, at which *Nectarius* of *Conſtantinople*, *Flavian* of *Antioch*, and *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, all three Patriarches aſſiſted; and the caſe was determined in the year 394, and *Bagadius* Reeſtabliſhed in his place. * It was the opinion of St. *Hierom*, tho a *Roman*, and very zealous for his own Patriarch, *That if there be any queſtion concerning Authority, that of the whole world is greater than that of one ſingle City. For what end ſhall a man alledg the Cuſtoms of one only Town? Whereſoever there is a Biſhop there is always the ſame Dignity. Neither Riches nor Poverty making them Superiors or Inferiors. They are all Succeſſors of the Apoſtles.* (a) St. *Chryſoſtom* was alſo of this opinion when he ſpoke thus: *If any Biſhop affecteth Supremacy on Earth, he ſhall find confuſion in Heaven. And whoſoever ſhall be ambitious of raiſing himſelf above others, ſhall not be reckoned among the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt.* Thus are all the Popes Inclufively Excommunicated by St. *Chryſoſtome*, ſince *Boniface* the Third; and not only by him, but by the *Milevitan* Council, by the Council of *Sardis*, the third Council of *Carthage*, and another Council held at *Carthage* at the Inſtance of *Gregory* the Firſt, under the Emperor *Maurice*; all theſe Councils do Excommunicate and declare him a forerunner of Antichriſt, who ſhall call himſelf Univerſal Biſhop. (b) St. *Gregory* doth himſelf abominate the Pride and Impiety of our Popes of theſe laſt Ages, when he ſays, *That whoſoever ſhall make himſelf be called Univerſal Biſhop, ſhall be the forerunner of Antichriſt, becauſe he will by his Inſolence raiſe himſelf above others.* (c) And in another place ſpeaking to *Anaſtaſius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, he ſays, *That without mentioning the diſhonour that the pride of ſuch a man would do you, If a Biſhop ſhould make himſelf be called Univerſal Head of the Church, the whole Church muſt run to ruin if this Univerſal Head ſhould fall. For my part I pray God keep me from hearkening to any ſuch follies, and from being capable of ſo great a vanity*, &c.

I ſhould never have done, if I ſhould pretend here to relate all the Evidences of Antiquity, which are contrary to the pretences of the Biſhops of *Rome* for ſome Ages paſt. * St. *Auſtin* tells us a ſtory which I cannot let paſs, which ſhews things pretty clearly: He ſays that *Donatus* had accuſed *Cecilian*, Arch-biſhop of *Carthage*, of a great Crime,

* Hierom in Epiſt. ad Evagrius.

(a) St. Chryſ. Hom. 43. in Matth.

(b) Greg. lib. 6. Ep. ad Maurit. Imperat.

(c) Idem lib. 6. Ep. 24. ad Anaſtaſium Antiochen.

* St. Aug. in li. cont. Donat. poſt Collat. c. 33.

Crime, and that the Emperor *Conſtantine* choſe the Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſeveral other biſhops for Judges of the Affair. *Donatus* was condemned by them, and made his Appeal to the Emperor, who referred the Judgment of his Appeal to *Arles*. At this Judgment the Biſhop of *Arles* preſided, and the Affair was by him determined in favour of *Cecilian*, and the Judgment given at *Rome* confirmed. It would be a fine thing now to ſee the Emperor in an Affair purely Eccleſiaſtical, as that was, eſtabliſh the Pope as his Commiſſary, with other Biſhops, and an Appeal made from their ſentence before the Emperor, and he ſhould ſend the cauſe before another Biſhop, to judge definitively of it. I know not after this what Evidences I further need to prove the Uſurpations which the Popes have made ſince thoſe times. Chriſtians ought to die in confuſion, who want Proofs for a thing as clear as the day, conſidering the enormity and exorbitance of the power which theſe people take upon them. † In St. *Hilaries* days they endeavoured to bring under the Biſhops of *France*, in ſuch ſort, that St. *Hilary* oppoſed their Ambition, which made *Leo* have the Impudence to write of it to the Biſhops of the Province of *Vienne*. However, that did not hinder him from continually attacking him, and his ſucceſſors, who found oppoſition enough from time to time, they always gaining the Victory: And we have a Letter which the Churches of *France* and *Germany* wrote together in the time of King *Clouis*, to *Anaſtaſius* the ſecond Biſhop of *Rome*, where we ſee that they were not ſatisfy'd with the Ambition of that Biſhop. * *It is not*, ſay they, *without reaſon, that the Biſhops, it being grounded upon many Authorities, affirm that the Authority of Councils is above that of a Pope. St.* Paul *the Apoſtle, who tells us, that we ſhould be his followers, reſiſted* Peter, *the firſt of the Apoſtles, to his face, becauſe he deſerved reproof. For our parts, we underſtand not this new compaſſion which the* Italian *Phyſicians have for our Maladies of* France. *They would cure our Biſhops, and are themſelves ſick of a continued Fever: They are themſelves blind, and yet they offer us light: They forſake their own Flock, ſuffering it to wander, and pretend to lead our Paſtors in the right way. They would make us believe, that the Cure for Spiritual Diſeaſes,* that is to ſay, *Abſolution, is to be found at* Rome, *&c. But if the Ark of the Covenant ſhould fall in* France, *it muſt be our Biſhops, and not theirs, that muſt take it up again. But if they be ſo raſh, as to pretend to touch the Ark of our Church, they only draw evil upon themſelves, as well as* Uzzah *the* Levite. *Let them fairly underſtand this Syllogiſm; If there be but one only power in all Biſhops, it*

† Leo in Epiſt. 89. ad Epiſc. Viennenſis Provinciæ contra Hilarium.

* Epiſtola Epiſcoporum Germaniæ & Galliæ, contra Anaſtaſ. ſecundum, ſub Clodoveo Magno, apud Aventinum in Collectaneis.

it is alſo in one perſon alone: Now there is one and the ſame power in all Biſhops; therefore it reſides alſo in one ſingle perſon.

But let us here obſerve by the by, how much the *Germans* and *French* are degenerated from that Piety and Love for the Liberty which Jeſus Chriſt hath acquired for his Church.

It is certain, that Biſhops were always equal in the firſt Ages of the Church: It was ſome time after the Death of St. *Cyprian*, before they thought of eſtabliſhing in every Province one Biſhop above the reſt: They thought it would be advantagious for removing the diſorder that ſprung up ſometimes among them for concurrence and preſidency. He reſided in the Capital City, and was called the Metropolitan. At firſt he had no Authority over the others, but only the place; but afterwards they conferred upon them the power of conſecrating Biſhops of the Province, becauſe they dwelt in the Capital City, where every body came about their Affairs. And it is from thence that Biſhops became ſubject to their Metropolitans, and have been diſtinguiſhed from them by the Ordination which they receive from them. Theſe Metropolitans were called in the Weſt *Arch-biſhops*; After this there was given them the power of calling Provincial Synods, who for that Reaſon were aſſembled always in the Capital City. That was brought in at firſt only as a Cuſtom, and becauſe it looked as though the ſtate of the Civil Government did require it. But at length this Cuſtom was confirmed by the Decrees of the Council of *Nice*, and became a Law. After that, for the maintenance of Unity among the Churches of divers Provinces, it was further thought requiſite to eſtabliſh Exarchs, or Primates over theſe Arch-biſhops, according to the *Idea* of the Civil Government. Theſe Primates were the Biſhops of the chief City of ſome great Province, or of a Dioceſs that comprehended many Provinces. At firſt they acknowledged no Superior, but by little and little, they of *Conſtantinople*, of *Antioch*, of *Alexandria*, and laſtly, he of *Rome*, did firſt attempt their Rights; and after came the Council of *Calcedon*, who eſtabliſhed over theſe Metropolitans four Patriarchs, of *Rome*, of *Alexandria*, of *Antioch*, and of *Conſtantinople*, to whom afterwards he of *Jeruſalem* was alſo added, for the Honour of that City; but he laſted not long. The two principal were he of *Rome*, and he of *Conſtantinople*, becauſe thoſe were the two Seats of the Empire, and at laſt they took upon them the Quality of Oecumenical Biſhops againſt all Reaſon, Divine, or Humane, and againſt the Decrees of many Councils. Since thoſe times every thing hath gone worſe and worſe.

It

It is no hard matter to prove, that the Preſidence of the Biſhop of *Rome* was purely in conſideration of the Dignity of that City: † The Second Canon of the Council of *Conſtantinople* ſhews it ſufficiently; where it is ſaid, That the Biſhops who are eſtabliſhed over a Dioceſs, ſhall not go beyond the bounds which have been ſet them; but that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſhall have the Honour of the Primacy, after the Biſhop of *Rome*, and not before him, becauſe that City is not ſo ancient as that of *Rome*. After the ſame manner the 9th Canon of the Council of *Antioch* ordains, That the Biſhops of great Cities ſhall have the pre-eminence, becauſe all men of buſineſs repair to the Capital City. † διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας, &c.

† Concil. Conſtant. Can. 2.

† Conc. Antio. Can. 9.

* And the Council of *Calcedon*, in its 16th Act, gives no other Reaſon for the City of *Rome*'s having the firſt place. *The Fathers*, ſays this Council, *have alſo given theſe Priviledges to the See of* Old Rome, *by reaſon of the Empire of that City*, &c. *And for this very reaſon they have given the ſame priviledges to the moſt Holy See of* New Rome, *judging very rationally, that a City honoured by the Senate and the Empire, ought to enjoy the ſame priviledges as the Ancient* Rome, *and have the ſame pre-eminence in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and be the ſecond after her.*

* Concil. Calcedon, Act 16.

† And the Council of *Turin*, in its firſt Chapter, hath theſe words, *That Biſhop who can prove that his City is the Capital of the whole Province, let him have the honour of the Primacy, and the Faculty of conferring Orders upon others.* And we muſt not judge of this matter by what we now ſee: For Example, That *Paris* and *London*, which are the Capital Cities of two great States, have not the Primacy over the other Biſhops of theſe Kingdoms: for beſides that they here received the Chriſtian Faith later than the others did; the Court of *Rome*, and its Favourers, have managed this very politickly, not ſuffering that any great City ſhould have this Honour, leſt the Biſhop of it ſhould become their Rival, and ſhould caſt off their yoke; as we ſee, they had all the difficulty in the World, to ſubdue the great City of *Milan*: ‖ For in the year 1059. *Nicholas* the Second, having ſent thither *Peter Damien*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, to make them lay aſide the *Ambroſian* Service, and take up the *Roman*; both the Clergy and People anſwered vigorouſly, That they had never been ſubject to the *Roman* Laws, and that the Biſhop of *Rome* had nothing to do to meddle with what concerned them: That it would be a thing unworthy of their Church, which had been always free, to become ſubject, by their own cowardize, to another Church; and that

‡ Conc. Turin, c. 1.

‖ Sigon. lib. 9. de Regno Italiæ. Petrus Damianus, in Epiſt. ad Hildebrandum.

that if they did it, it would bring an eternal ſhame upon them. It is true, the Cardinal did corrupt the Arch-biſhop, who received the *Roman* Service; but the Clergy and the People ſoon ſhook off the Yoke, till *Gregory* the Seventh's time, who by cunning practices, and by cruelty, oppreſſed them. * In the ſame manner, at *Toledo*, the Popes were forced to ſhed a great deal of blood, before they could compel that Town to receive the *Roman* Service; and at laſt, to appeaſe the People, they were forced to allow, that they ſhould retain the *Gallican* Service in Six Pariſhes of the City of *Toledo*. *Ravenna* alſo reſiſted for ſome time courageouſly, becauſe they had taſted ſomewhat of their Spiritual, as well as of their Temporal Dominion. We ſee it by the 54*th* Epiſtle of *Adrian*, *Ad Carolum Magnum de Leone Epiſcopo Ravennate qui non vult Obedire Adriano*. His Predeceſſor *Sergius* had done the ſame thing, and ſo did *John*, his Succeſſor, and many others. See Cardinal *D' Ailly*, in his book of the Reformation. *Guicciardin* alſo confirms it: *The Church of* Ravenna, ſays he, *diſputed with* Rome *for the Primacy, becauſe the Seat of Religion hath been accuſtomed to follow the Power of the Empire and its Arms*; which, by the way, alſo proves the Uſurpations of the Biſhops of *Rome*. *Durand* alſo tells us, That *Charlemayne* was intreated by the Pope *Adrian*, to aboliſh the *Ambroſian* Service throughout all *Germany* and *France*, and that he found great reſiſtance, as againſt an unheard of Tyranny. *The Emperor*, ſays he, *did compel all the Eccleſiaſticks, both by Threats and Puniſhments, to burn the Books of the* Ambroſian *Service. He could not force the Men of* Milan *to it, who yet kept it near* 300. *years*. And we ſee in the 6*th* Chapter of the Capitularies of *Charlemayne*, that this Emperour made this Ordinance in the Year 806, that the Service ſhould be ſung in Churches, according to the Uſe and Cuſtom of the *Roman* Church. Theſe Villains, who owe ſo much to this Emperour, make but very little acknowledgment, and have ſhewed but ſmall conſideration to his deſcendants.

* Vaſæus in Chronico Hiſp. Anno Chriſti 717, Rodericus Arch. Tolet. lib. 6. cap. 25, & 26.

I do not think it neceſſary to prove, that the Biſhops of *Rome* preſided in the Councils, no more than other Biſhops; that it was the Emperours who called the Councils, that were to approve, and make them to be obſerved. There is no man but knows that our Kings have aſſembled many, and have preſided in them, even when the Biſhop of *Rome* hath had a Deputy, or Legate preſent. We have a remarkable Example in the Hiſtory of the *Gallican* Councils, *which it were to be wiſhed, that our great King would follow*; * that is, of the

*Hiſtoria Concil. Gallic. Concil. Leptinenſe ad Annum 742, in Præfat.

the Council of *Leptine*, assembled in the Name of *Carloman*, Duke and Prince of the *Francks*, under *Chilperic* the third. First of all, you there see that it was *Carloman* who presided, though the Bishop of *Rome* had his Deputy there present. See how he there speaks: *In the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, I* Carloman, *Duke and Prince of the* Francks, *in the Year from the Incarnation* 742, *the Second of the Calends of* May, *have assembled a Council, by the advice of the Servants of God, and the Lords of our Court, that is to say,* Boniface, *and* Burchard, *Bishops, with their Clergy, to advise concerning means whereby the Law of God, and the Ecclesiastical Religion, which is fallen to decay in these latter Ages, may be re-established, and how Christian People may attain to the Salvation of their Souls, and not be destroyed by the deceits of false Teachers.*

This is a true *Idea* of the present State of the Church; but with this difference, that the disorder is now much greater; and would it would please God to touch the heart of some great Prince in our days, to do as *Carloman* did. Under the same King *Chilperic*, *Pepin*, who was yet only Duke of the *Francks*, called also another Council at *Soissons*, where he also presided: The Preface begins thus, *I Pepin:* And at the end it is said, *Whosoever shall contradict these Decrees, Established by* 23. *Bishops, and other Servants of God, by and with the consent of Prince* Pepin, *and of the Lords of* France, *shall be judged either by the Prince, or by the Bishops:* And the Council is signed, *Pepin.* The Bishop of *Rome* is no more mentioned in all this, than the *Mufti*, though they were already arrived to a great height, because it was near two hundred years since they had been declared Heads of the Church by the Emperor *Phocas*. The first who took upon him this Quality, was one *Boniface* the third, who for having protected *Phocas*, who had killed the Emperor *Maurice*, to settle himself in his place, was by him, in recompence, honoured with the Title of Universal Bishop. Many Authors do relate the History of it, but one only shall suffice, who is *Beda*, ‖ who reports, *Phocam Imperatorem rogante* Bonifacio *secundo*, Gregorii *Magni Successore statuisse sedem* Romanæ, *& Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ Caput esse Omnium Ecclesiarum, quia Constantinopolitana Primam se Omnium Ecclesiarum scribebat.* And since that time they are become the Vicars General of Jesus Christ upon Earth, because they are the worthy Successors of *Simon Magus*, who as St. *Epiphanius* reports, † pretended to be the Vicar of Christ. And the Divine Power, for the Government of the Church. Being thus far advanced, no man need wonder that they govern the Church so well: for *Tacitus* observes, ‖ *Nemo unquam Imperium flagitio quæsitum bonis Ar-*

‖ Beda in Tractatu de sex ætatibus mundi.

† Epiphanius hæres 20.

‖ Tacitus.

Artibus Exercuit. Since this Conſecration of *Phocas*, they have always had the Wind in their Stern, and Fortune hath by little and little greatly advanced them: They were never at a loſs to find people who would aſſiſt them to get a ſhare in the Plunder. *Prima Principatus initia, Ardua ubi ſis ingreſſus, adeſſe Studia & Miniſtros.* And I may ſay that which the ſame *Tacitus* ſays in an other place, with reſpect to the Ancient Grandeur of *Rome*, That Fortune prepared them in many places of the World means and occaſions of eſtabliſhing their Empire: ‖ *Struebat jam Fortuna in diverſa parte Terrarum, initia cauſuſq; Imperio, (Papatui.)* It is now not very long ſince that the Emperors did elect and depoſe the Popes: They made uſe of them in their Affairs; in Embaſſies; they puniſhed them when they had committed any Crime, and ſometimes even with Death. *Theodoric*, King of *Italy*, for Example, ſent *John*, Biſhop of *Rome*, in an Embaſſy to the Emperor *Juſtinian*; and having afterwards re-called him, he put him to death in Priſon. * *Beliſarius*, Lieutenant of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, in the year 538, drove away *Silverius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, and put *Vigil* in his place, whom he afterwards drew through the Town with a Rope about his Neck, as *Platina* ‖ relates. In the year 654, the Emperor *Conſtantine* bound the Pope *Martin* in Chains, and ſent him away in Exile to *Cherſona*, where he died. In the year 963, the Emperor *Otho* depoſed Pope *John* the 12th. In the the year 1007, *Henry* the Second depoſed Three Popes, *Benet* the Ninth, *Sylveſter* the Third, and *Gregory* the Sixth. We ſee by the Authentick of *Juſtinian*, that the Popes paid to the Emperors, as to their Soveraigns, Twenty Pounds of Gold for their Inveſtiture †. And Pope *Adrian* himſelf, and alſo *Leo* the Eighth, do confeſs, that the Emperor *Charlemayne* had the Authority of Electing Popes ‖.

‖ Tacitus.

* Platina, Sigebert.

‖ Platina.

‡ Authent. Juſtinian, 123. cap. 3.

‖ Diſtinct. 63. Can. in Sinodo.

Why is it not ſo now? It is becauſe the Popes have by a thouſand Cheats ruined the *Roman* Emperors, and are become more mighty then they, as well by the deſolation of the Empire, which they have rent in pieces, as by the Conqueſts which they have made in *Italy*, and by the Uſurpations which they yet make upon what remains to the Emperor, in debauching part of his Subjects, who ſwear Fidelity and Obedience to them, even againſt the Emperor himſelf, and by holding in Captivity their Conſciences, by means of the Monks, to make them do what they pleaſe in favour of the Pope; not to mention how they drain his Country, as well as others, trafficking with Princes and their Subjects, in almoſt the ſame manner as is uſual with ſome people of the *Indies*, to whom they give

Pins,

Pins, and pieces of Glaſs for their Pearls and Gold. After this manner they draw to them all our Subſtance; and we are, at leaſt, as ſimple as theſe poor people.

Some body in *Tacitus* complains, That the Money went out of *Rome* for Diamonds; and that Strangers and Enemies made advantage by it: † *Pecuniæ noſtræ lapidum cauſa ad Exteras & Hoſtiles Gentes tranſeunt.* We have now ſo much more reaſon to make this Complaint, as Diamonds are better worth than Bulls and Diſpenſations of our Moſt Holy Father the Pope. ‡ Tacitus.

Boniface the Third, as I have already ſaid, having been made Univerſal Head of the Church by *Phocas*, this power increaſed prodigiouſly in a little time: † This good Pope preſently called together ſome Eccleſiaſticks of his Faction, in a Synod, who confirmed to him the Title of Head of the Church. After him, his Succeſſors, taking advantage of the weakneſs of the *Greek* Emperors, and of the diſtractions of *Italy*, they eſtabliſhed and augmented their Authority more and more; and the *Exarchat* of *Ravenna*, having been ruined by the *Lombards*, the Spiritual Power of that City fell as a prey into the hands of the Biſhops of *Rome*; who, ſeeing none in *Italy* but the *Lombards*, who could diſturb him, plaid a cunning trick to draw to them out of *France*, *Pepin*, Son of *Charles Martel*; it was by ſending him Letters brought from Heaven to the Holy Father, which promiſed *Pepin* an aſſured Victory over the *Lombards*. *Pepin* gave credit to this Letter, came and defeated the *Lombards*; purſuant to which, His Holineſs, Pope *Zachary*, the worthy Succeſſor of *Boniface* the Third, very honeſtly diſpenced with *Pepin*'s Oath of Allegiance, which he owed to King *Chilperic*, and crowned him King of *France*; and at the ſame time diſpenced with all the *French* for their Obedience due to their lawful Prince. *Pepin* then in acknowledgment of this, gave them the *Exarchat* of *Ravenna*, with many Cities and Priviledges, reſerving to himſelf only the Soveraignty, and the Right of Electing Popes, which, as Hiſtory teſtifieth, his Succeſſors enjoyed long after him. † Sigebert in Chronico.

Nor had any of their Biſhops any need of Bulls, or to pay Tribute to the Popes, being elected by the Clergy and the People, inveſted by the Prince, who alone aſſembled * Councils, and made Regulations in Eccleſiaſtical things. And when the Popes encroached farther than they had to do, we ſee that the Churches of *Germany*, and of *France*, had yet courage enough to oppoſe their Enterpriſes. And we find that in the year 991. the Council aſſembled at *Reimes* * Capitula Caroli Magni Ludovi. Lotharii, &c.

under *Hugh Capet*, depoſed one *Arnoulph*, Arch-biſhop of *Rheimes*, in ſpite of the Pope; and when he complained of it, they asked him for what reaſon they ſhould prefer his Apoſtleſhip before others? || *Ut ſciamus & intelligamus cur inter cæteros Apoſtolatum veſtrum præferre debeamus.* And in the 28*th* Chapter of the ſame Council, *What would Laws ſignifie, if all were to be governed by one Man's Humour?*

|| Concil. Rhem. anno 991. c. 26. & cap. 28.

In the greateſt proſperity of *Rome*, when it was the Seat of the Empire, and Biſhops were men of Merit, the *Celaſiuſes*, the *Gregories*, and the *Leoes*, the *Africans* would not give them the Priviledge of Appeals; how much leſs ought we to do it now? Compare our times with theirs. It is true, that notwithſtanding the Proteſtations which were every where made againſt the Ambition of the Biſhops of *Rome*, yet they ſtill gained ground; and at length, having gotten, either by ſome trick, or by open violence, not only the *Exarchat* of *Ravenna*, but *Benevento*, and *Ferrara*, and what they call the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, having made themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Town of *Rome*, they were no longer afraid to declare open War againſt the Emperours. And this it was which made *Guicciardin* ſay in two places, *Jam ita ſe gerunt ut Authoritatis pontificiæ videatur Leges dare potius quam accipere Terrorem armorum Cæleſtium in res caducas vertunt. Tandem non erga Deum & Homines Charitas, ſed Exercitus, ſed bella in Chriſtianos horum Curæ & Ludicra; jam per multos annos bellorum Authores, incendiorum Faces*, &c. Now they behave themſelves as though it were a part of the Popes Authority to give Laws, not to receive them. They turn the Terror of Heavenly Weapons on Worldly Affairs; now not love to God and Man, but Armies and Wars againſt Chriſtians, are their care and ſport. For many years they have been Authors of Wars, *&c.*

|| Aventin. in Boi. Hiſt.

|| *Aventin* gives us an account of a Letter which the Emperor *Barbaroſſa* wrote in the year 1150. to the Princes of *Germany*, which ſaith expreſly, That the Popes being increaſed in Wealth and Dignity, by means of him and his Predeceſſors, apply themſelves with all diligence to dethrone Kings and Princes, and cannot ſuffer an Equal: That they were buſied both Night and Day, not ſo much to deſtroy him, as the Sacred Empire. After they had oppreſſed the Head of it, they affect not only Domination, but Divinity it ſelf, and will not be feared and adored leſs than God: And that the Chriſtian Religion hath no greater Enemies than they.

But

But he who of all the Popes gave the moſt mortal blow to the Church, and to the Authority of Chriſtian Princes, was *Gregory* the Seventh, and that by three Deviliſh means: Firſt of all by Depoſing the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth, which cauſed the ruin of the Weſtern Empire; for ſince that time it hath been torn into many little States, and weak Principalities, which the Popes have played with at their pleaſure, as well in *Germany*, as in *Italy*. Only our Country of *France* hath maintained it ſelf againſt all their endeavours, without being divided, and hath ſtill kept ſome ſmall Remains of Liberty, which they daily attempt to rob us of. The ſecond device was to engage Princes, and great men, and thoſe who were very rich, in the Croiſadoes and Expeditions of the Holy Land, and to make them take the Croſs; which beſides the vaſt Treaſures which the Popes got by it, augmented greatly their Authority; for from hence they invented Indulgences, from whence the Court of *Rome* hath drawn unſpeakable Advantages as well in Riches, as in Authority. The third was by introducing neatly under the pretence of ignorance, and the weakneſs of Princes, the uſe of Cardinals of divers Nations, in the Election of the Pope; for by this theſe Nations are for the Spiritual part become ſubject to the See of *Rome*, the Clergy and people of *Rome*, as well as the Emperors, have loſt the Right of Electing the Biſhop. All theſe States have thought that the Biſhop of *Rome* was greater than another Biſhop, and that they had great Intereſt in his Election; and the Popes have gotten many Creatures in all theſe States. It is true, that at this time they are almoſt all *Italians*, becauſe they have of late ſo well bridled all theſe Countries by the Infinite number of their Monks, and by many other Inventions that they now fear not their caſting off the yoke.

After that *Henry* the Fourth had been Depoſed, and the Right of Inveſting Biſhops taken from him, the Succeſſors of this *Gregory* pretended that the Eccleſiaſticks were exempt from all Juriſdiction and power of Secular Princes, even in Civil Affairs. And beſides that, that the Biſhop of *Rome* could Depoſe Kings, if they did not ſubmit to all his Orders; and to fortifie this, came forth the Decretals of many Popes, of which theſe people at laſt made ſo good uſe to compoſe their Bull *de Cæna Domini*, and the Directory of the Inquiſitors.

But, ſay they, all this does not hinder the Biſhop of *Rome* from being Head of the Church, for we ſee that the Laws and Rules

Rules, and *Roman* Diſcipline, have been followed by the other Churches. It is true, that in the Weſt, as there was no other Patriarchal See, and as in moſt places the Chriſtian Faith had been received by means of the *Roman* Church, the world had a great reſpect for it; and beſides, it was by reaſon of the Dignity of this City. As in *France* we always conſult the *Sorbonne* at *Paris* concerning matters of Religion; not that for this reaſon the other Univerſities or Churches depend upon it. But it is falſe, that all Chriſtians, or the greateſt part of them have received the Rules and Diſcipline of *Rome*. The *Greek* Churches never owned them, nor any of thoſe who are in *Aſia*, or in *Africa*, as the *Armenian*, the *Ethiopian* and others. And what we have already alledged from many of the Fathers and Councils, from the *Gallican* Church, from the Churches of *Ravenna*, *Milan* and *Toledo*, who with ſo much difficulty received the *Roman* Office, even in the Eleventh Century, ſhews ſufficiently that they had no dependance on the Biſhop of *Rome*. I could bring a thouſand other proofs did I not fear being too tedious to the Reader. * *Aventin* relates that *Gregory* the Second ſent one *Winefred* towards the Countries lying upon the *Rhine* to reform the Churches there, and to ſet them on the *Roman* bottom; but that they vigorouſly oppoſed him and many Biſhops, called him the Author of Lyes, and corrupter of the Chriſtian Faith. † In the firſt Tome of the Councils we have a Letter of *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, to *Hierome* a Prieſt, where we find theſe words, which do ſufficiently confute the pretences of our people: *I intreat, Brother, thy charity to ſend us the Greek Pſalter, with the Notes by which they ſing them.* Theſe are the words, *Peto charitatem tuam ut Græcorum Pſallentiam ad nos dirigere tua Fraternitas delectetur.* For, adds he, *we are ſo ſimple that upon Feſtival days we do nothing but read a Chapter in the Epiſtles, or in the Goſpel, and we have no cuſtom of ſinging Pſalms, nor is the Grace and Glory of Hymns to be found in our mouths.* Obſerve theſe words, *Charitas tua*, and *Fraternitas tua*, from a Biſhop of *Rome* to a Prieſt, and how far they were from endeavouring to make other Churches ſubject to their Laws, ſince that on the contrary they did correct their own faults by the good example of others. ‖ We find alſo at the end of St. *Gregory*'s Works, that about the year 593, he ſent a Monk called *Auſtin* into *England*, who paſſing through *France*, was ſurprized to ſee there another manner of Divine Service than he had ſeen in *Italy*, with Ceremonies quite different; that when he wrote to *Gregory*, he asked him

* Avent. Anno 723.

† 1 Tom Conciliorum.

‖ At the end of St. *Gregories* Works.

him how it came to paſs that ſince there was but one Faith, the cuſtoms of Churches were ſo different, and that the cuſtom and manner of Maſſes was not the ſame at *Rome* as in *France?* To which St. *Gregory* anſwered, *You know, Brother, what is the cuſtom of the* Roman *Church, wherein you have been educated. But my opinion is, that if you find any thing, be it in the* Roman *Church, or the* Gallican, *or in any other which may be more agreeable to God, you ſhould prefer it; for we ought not to love the things for the places, but the places for the good things we find in them.*

* There are ſome people alſo who would make an advantage of this that the Church of *Rome* is by the Fathers called the *Apoſtolick See.* In truth as the *Phariſees* ſat in the ſeat of *Moſes*, as our Saviour ſays, ſo do the Biſhops of *Rome* alſo ſit upon the Seat of the Apoſtles. But it is certain, that the other Biſhops who teach the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and imitate their example, are more Apoſtolick than they. You muſt know that all the Churches founded by the Apoſtles were honoured with this Title, and particularly famous and Metropolitan Cities, which were looked upon as the Mothers of other Churches, tho ſometimes they had embraced Chriſtianity after others that were leſs conſiderable, becauſe there Reſided the Civil, which drew after it the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. And becauſe there were many in the Eaſt where Chriſtians were far more numerous than on this ſide, none of thoſe Churches ever raiſed it ſelf above the others; but in the Weſt there being but one, which was the *Roman*, and no other having been ſince erected, tho the *Germans*, *Spaniards*, *French*, and other Nations have embraced the Chriſtian Religion ſince thoſe times, yet *Rome* alone hath had this Glorious Title, and the others have had great reſpect for it, without any manner of dependance on it however at the beginning, as hath already been ſhewed. But that hindereth not but that other Orthodox Churches may alſo have it; conſult *Tertullian*, (*a*) he ſays that all Churches that follow the Faith of the Apoſtles, are Apoſtolick. And Pope *Pelagius* confirms the ſame thing, (*b*) *Whenſoever*, ſays he, *there ariſeth any queſtion in peoples minds concerning an Univerſal Synod, let thoſe who love their own Salvation, conſult the Apoſtolick Sees, that they may learn the reaſon of what they underſtand not.* (*c*) And St. *Auſtin* ſpeaking of *Cecilian* Biſhop of *Carthage*, condemned by the *Donatiſts*, before whom he refuſed to anſwer, ſays that he might reſerve the whole cognizance of the thing to the judgment of his other fellow Biſhops, chiefly thoſe of Apoſtolick Sees.

* *See Apoſtolick.*

(*a*) Tertul. de præſcripti, cap. 20.
(*b*) Pelag. ad Valer. in Collect. Rom. part 1. p. 227.
(*c*) St. Aug. Epiſt. 162.

Sees. We have seen already that the Council of *Rheimes* assembled under *Hugh Capet*, says that the Apostleship of the Bishop of *Rome* is not to be preferred before that of other Bishops, and so his See is no more Apostolick. (d) *Apollinaris* gives this account of the Apostleship to *Fontelus* Bishop of *Vaison*; and says also, that the Bishop *Tricassin* lived forty years in an Apostolick See. (e) *Gregory* of *Tours* calleth the Church of *Bourdeaux* an Apostolick See. The Council of *Antioch* assembled against *Paulus Samosatensis* calleth the Church of *Antioch* the Church Catholick, *We have*, say they, *been obliged to give unto the Catholick Church another Bishop in the room of this Heretick.* (f) Nevertheless this Catholick Church was not subject to the Bishop of *Rome* no more than *Cecilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, of whom the Emperor *Constantine* also said, that he presided over the Church Catholick (g).

(d) Apollin. lib. 7. Epist. 4. Sidon. Apollin. lib. 6.

(e) Greg. Hist. l. 4. cap. 26.

(f) Euseb. Hist. lib 7. cap 30.

(g) Euseb. Hist. lib. 10. cap. 7.

(h) As for the quality of *Bishop of Bishops*, which the Popes take upon themselves, and which the Fathers have sometimes given to the Bishops of *Rome*, it is like that of King of Kings, in regard of those who had Kings under them. The Metropolitans who were the first Bishops were thus called. *Chrysostome* is called Father of the Fathers, and Teacher of the whole World by the Emperors *Theodosius*. (i) And *Sydonius* calls *Lupus Tricassin* Bishop of *Trequier*, Father of Fathers, and Bishop of Bishops. He also calls one *Græcus Massilienſis* Bishop of *Marseilles* by the same name, and gives also the Title of Soveraign *Pontife*, even to those sort of Bishops, and to *Ægrotius* Bishop of *Sens*, and to *Fontelus* Bishop of *Vaison*. * He says in another place, that *Evatrix* King of the *Goths* having subdued all *Aquitain*, killed all the *Soveraign Pontifes* that were there, and that there were no other Bishops established in their stead. (k) The same Author calls also *Mamercus* Bishop of *Vienne* Soveraign *Pontife*. (l) And there also speaking of *Lupus* Bishop of *Trequier*, he says, he is the *first* Bishop of the Habitable Earth. This same *Sydonius* having been chosen by the Clergy of *Bourges*, to Elect, and in the presence of the Archbishop of *Sens* to establish a Bishop at *Bourges*; says, *You have given me this Commission to Elect a Bishop in the presence of our most Holy Father the Pope, a man most worthy of the Soveraign Priesthood. Præsente sacro sancto Papa Pontificatu summo Dignissimo.* So he calls *Ægrotius* Bishop of *Sens*, and not the Pope of *Rome*. (m) We see also that St. *Ignatius* acknowledges no Dignity above that of a Bishop. *Honour the Bishop as being the chief Priest, who beareth the Image of God.* (n) And Pope *Leo* acknowledgeth that above a Bishop there

(h) *Bishop of Bishops.*

(i) Niceph. lib. 4. cap. 43. Sydon. Apollin. lib. 6. Epist. 2. *Soveraign Pontife.*

* Sydon. Apol. lib. 7. Epist. 2, & 4.

(k) Idem lib. 5. Epist. 6.

(l) Lib. 4. Ep. 11. & lib. 6. Epist. 4.

(m) Ignatius ad Smirnens.

(n) Leo Epist. 87. ad Afric.

is

is no other degree. The Poet *Fortunatus* gives St. *Germain* Biſhop of *Paris*, the Title of High Prieſt (*o*).

(*o*) Fortun. lib. 11. Ep. 13.

Pontifici ſummo nos commendare Precamur,
Regibus & Dominis forte ſalutis opus.

As for the word *Pope* which theſe people have affected to diſtinguiſh themſelves by from other Biſhops; it is like the word *Legate* or *Nuncio*, which they give to their Embaſſadors and Envoys inſtead of uſing the ordinary Terms; theſe are ſingular marks of vanity and pride, which however have their effect on ſilly people, who imagin by theſe words that the Pope is a man of a quite different kind from others. You muſt know that this word in its Original ſignifies no other thing than a Prieſt or Biſhop; and that it was common heretofore to all people of this Character, and even now at this day they are ſo called in *Greece*, and alſo in *Germany*, and the Motto of the Duke of *Brunſwick*, who ſtiled himſelf *Gottes, friend*; and *Paepſten fiend*, ſignifies no leſs that he was an enemy to Prieſts than to Popes. We ſee in the Life of St. *Cyprian*, written by *Pontianus* a Deacon, that he is there called *Pope*. (*p*) And in the Epiſtle of the *Roman* Clergy to St. *Cyprian*, there are theſe words, *Cypriano Papæ*, to Pope *Cyprian*; and at length, *We deſire thee moſt Holy and moſt Glorious Pope*. And in the Epiſtle of *Calerin*, which is the 89th. in *Cyprian*, *The moſt Holy Pope Cyprian*. And *Iſchyras* writing to *Athanaſius*, ſays thus, *Beato Papæ Athanaſios: To the bleſſed Pope Athanaſius, Greeting*. I need not bring any more proofs, ſince *Baronius* himſelf doth acknowledg and atteſt that this name (*q*) had been common to all Biſhops until the year 1070, that *Gregory* the Seventh, that Able Pope whom we have already mentioned, forbad it to be given to any other Biſhop than he of *Rome*.

(*p*) Epiſt. Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. de Lapſu. 13.

(*q*) Baron. Martyr. Januarii.

As for the *Cardinals* who are in no other See than that of *Rome*, they in my opinion give ſo little advantage to it above the Sees of other Biſhops, ſpeaking like a Chriſtian, that they do abaſe and make it infinitely leſs than others. For what are theſe people? They are worldly men, Epicures, people of pride, vanity and prodigious expence; there are but few of them who devour leſs than Three hundred thouſand *Livres* (*r*) a year after an infamous manner; and it was not without reaſon that the Emperor *Sigiſmond* repreſented to the Council of *Conſtance*, that they were good for nothing

(*r*) Theſe are *French* Livres that are worth 20 *Engliſh* pence a piece, 25000 *l.*

thing in the Church, and their Dignity ought to be ſuppreſt. And of latter days even in the Council of *Trent* there were men bold enough to propoſe the aboliſhment of this Dignity, or elſe to reduce them to their firſt Functions of Curates. As alſo the *Gallican* Church demanded in its Remonſtrances to the Council of *Conſtance*, *Domini Cardinales*: *My Lords, the Cardinals, ſay they, are Curates of the Pariſh Churches of* Rome, *and in this reſpect are they called Cardinals*; that is to ſay, *the chief or Principals* (*s*). *And according to this Inſtitution their chief duty is and ought to be to hear Confeſſions, Preach and Baptiſe.* Beſides there were many other Churches who as well as *Rome* had ſuch like Prieſts as the Cardinals. We ſee it by a Brief of the *Gallican* Church under *Charles* the Fifth (*t*), *It is not only* Rome, ſays this Brief, *which hath Cardinals, but there are many other Churches who have them, as that of* Ravenna, *and who call them Cardinals who have the chief Employments in the Church.* And ſo it was in many other Churches, Kingdoms and Provinces. And the Cardinals were in thoſe times under the Biſhops, as may be ſeen by the (*u*) Chronicle of the Abby of *St. Jean de Vignes* at *Soiſſons*, where *Theobald* Biſhop of *Soiſſons* is brought in ſpeaking of the Curate of *St. John de Vignes*, and ſays, *Presbiter vero Cardinalis, ipſius ejuſdem loci, mihi de more & Archidiacono de Cura Parochianorum reddat rationem.* That is to ſay, *That the Cardinal-Prieſt of this Pariſh ought according to the cuſtom to give an account of his Pariſhioners to me, and to the Arch-Deacon.* The ſame Author called *Le Gris*, a Canon Regular of St. *Auguſtin*, ſays, That there were Twelve Curates at *Soiſſons*, who time out of mind had been called Cardinals; and it was the ſame thing in many other places of *France*. And we read in *Paſquier* that in a Council held at *Metz* under *Charlemagne*, it was ordained, (*x*) *Ut Titulos Cardinales in Urbibus vel Suburbiis conſtituatos honeſtiſſime & Canonice retractatione ordinent & diſponant* *. *That the Biſhops ſhould ordain and diſpoſe the Title of Cardinals Honeſtly, and Canonically, in Cities and Suburbs.*

If this name and dignity be to be eſteemed ſo highly in the Church, it would be very eaſie to make as many as one would in *France* without the Biſhop of *Rome* his conſent, ſince that every Biſhop hath the power of making them, and without being Reordained there is no Prieſt who doth now officiate, who may not be a Cardinal when you pleaſe. Thus this ſignifies nothing, no more than the other things which have been already confuted, to prove that the Popes Authority is Divine, ſince the Scripture and the whole Primitive Church are againſt it.

But

(*s*) *Cardinals in other places beſides* Rome.

(*t*) Apoſtoli dati Cardinalibus per Nationem Gallicanam, ſub Carolo Quinto.

(*u*) The Chro. of the Abby of St. Jean de Vignes at Soiſſons.

(*x*) Paſquier, lib. 4. cap. 3.

* Art. 54.

But I muſt here alſo anſwer one Humane Reaſon which they make uſe of to throw duſt in our eyes; they take it from an Author whom they eſteem as much as St. *Paul*, nay more, for they pretend that without him we ſhould fail in many Articles of our Faith; this is *Ariſtotle*. I ſcarce believe ſo much can be ſaid of St. *Paul*, who wrote the cleareſt of all the Apoſtles. *Senza Ariſtotele noi mancarono di molti Articoli di Fide*, * ſays Cardinal *Palavicini*. *Bellarmine* alſo, another Cardinal and a Jeſuit, doth object to us that *Ariſtotle* demonſtrated Monarchy to be the moſt excellent of all Governments, and by conſequence God would have his Church ſo governed, and that this Monarchy belongs to the Pope. It is certain that the Spiritual Government of the Church is Monarchical. It is Jeſus Chriſt who governs it, a Monarch all-wiſe, and Almighty; but the external Government of the viſible and Univerſal Church cannot be ſo; and their principle it ſelf is conteſted by the greateſt part of Politicians. *Ariſtotle* himſelf, their Apoſtle, ſays in ſome places, that a mixed or compounded Government, be it Ariſtocratical, or Democratical, is better: † *Quæ ex Pluribus conſtat Reſpublica melior eſt.* And tho a Kingdom may be very well governed by one ſingle perſon; yet it doth not follow that this one perſon can as well govern all the States and Kingdoms of the World. And he ſays in another place, ‖ *Huc enim ſunt omnia reducenda ut ii qui in Imperio ſunt, non Tyrannum ſed patrem Familias agere videantur, & rem non quaſi Dominus ſed quaſi Procurator & Præfectus adminiſtrare, nec quod nimium eſt ſectari.* Do the Popes govern after this manner? Reaſon and Experience both convince us of the contrary. We ſee by Hiſtory, that the Empires of the World, when they were of too great an extent, could not ſubſiſt, and have been torn in pieces; and we have the example of ſome wiſe Emperors who made Decrees to hinder the enlargement of their Empire, as *Auguſtus* made one, *De Coercendo intra limites Imperio*. It is a Proverb, *That he who takes too much into his arms, can't cloſe it*. And this is ſo much the truer in Eccleſiaſtical Government, which cannot inflict Corporal puniſhments upon Delinquents; for St. *Paul* ſays expreſly, that the Arms of the Evangelick Miniſtry are not according to *the Fleſh*. And the Fathers as well as the Councils do teach us, that the Arms of a Biſhop ought to be Prayers and Tears. The example which they bring of one ſingle Biſhop, who by Divine Inſtitution governs a Dioceſs, or of a Curate who governs one Church only, can ſignifie to them nothing at all; becauſe firſt of all there is a Divine Inſtitution for that, but none for this.

A humane Reaſon for the Papacy.

* Palavic. lib. 8. cap. 19.

‡ Ariſtot. lib. 2. Pol. cap. 4.

‖ Idem lib. 5. Pol. cap. 11.

Tacitus.

Beſides, a man may eaſily manage a Boat upon a little River, who knows not how alone to manage a great Veſſel upon the Ocean, much leſs a Fleet of Ships. And the Example of a Biſhop or Curate makes againſt them, for they are not Soveraigns, the one preſides only among the other Prieſts, and the other in a Pariſh.

I foreſee that it will be ſaid, that though this Authority of the Pope was not Inſtituted by Jeſus Chriſt, that the Church for the firſt five Centuries knew it not, that it hath been ſince oppoſed from time to time by many people, perhaps of a turbulent or diſcontented mind; yet it muſt be believed that the Church which did eſtabliſh it ſince, did it for good Reaſons; that Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles have not ſo preciſely Regulated every thing that concerns the Diſcipline of the Church, but that ſhe may according to her own Prudence alter ſome things according to the times and places; or as others ſay, that every time hath its cuſtoms; or as Cardinal *Palavicini*, † *Altri tempi, Altri coſtumi:* That the Church was at that time in its Infancy, and that the mature age to which it is now arrived, is not to be governed as its tender Infancy. I acknowledg that the Church may ſometimes vary in its Diſcipline, and in its policy without any great crime; but this muſt be always by a principle of charity; and according to the Fathers, *Quod propter charitatem fit, non debet contra Charitatem militare.* That which is done by a Principle of Charity, ought not to militate againſt Charity. It muſt tend to Edification; the Church ought to do nothing againſt the Commandments of God. Now I have ſhewn that the Papacy is againſt the Maxims of the Goſpel, and is altogether contrary to the Genius of Chriſtianity, and more contrary than light is to darkneſs.

† Palav. lib. 23. cap. 10.

The Church hath not eſtabliſht the Papacy.

The Papacy never did any good in the world.

Furthermore, it is not true that the Church hath eſtabliſhed the Papacy, only ſome few Councils held in *Italy* about two or three hundred years ſince, or thereabouts; as that at *Florence*, *Lateran*, *Bolonia* and *Trent*. But we ſpeak not of theſe dark Ages; for thoſe with whom I diſpute, believe that the *Church* hath eſtabliſhed this power in the Sixth or Seventh Century.

‡ Cuſan de concor. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 14.

† In this reſpect the Cardinal *Cuſan* miſtakes himſelf, when he ſays, *Papatus eſt de jure Poſitivo*; The Papacy is of Poſitive Right: For the Church hath not eſtabliſhed it in any Council, unleſs you call that Rabble of Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars the Church, who aſſembled themſelves together at the deſire of *Boniface* the Third, to confirm upon him the Title of Univerſal Biſhop, which he got by

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the Parricide *Phocas*, for the assistance he had given him. He himself acknowledgeth, that this Authority came to them, * *ex usu & Consuetudine Subjectionalis Obedientiæ.* And he maintains with good reason in another place, *Si per possibile Treverinus Archiepiscopus per Ecclesiam Congregatam pro Præside & Capite Eligeretur, Ille proprie plus Successor esset Beati Petri in Principatu quam Romanus Episcopus: That if it were possible that the Arch Bishop of* Treves *could be chosen Head of the Church by a General Council, he would be a more lawful Successor of St.* Peter *than the Bishop of* Rome; which shews, that in his time no Council had declared the Bishop of *Rome* as such. Besides, these words, *if it were possible*, shew, that he believed not that the Church could dispose of such a thing. † *Gerson* was also of this Opinion; for he acknowledgeth very ingeniously, that the Papal Authority cannot be conferred by the Church: *Papalis Authoritas si non a Deo esset immediate instituta, a tota Ecclesia instituri non poterat: If the Papal Authority were not from God immediately, it could not be instituted by the whole Church.*

* Cusan lib. 2. c. 13. & 34.

† Gerson de potestate Ecclesiastic.

And though it were true, that the Church had established it, as Pope *Innocent* the Third pretends, when he says, *Ecclesia non nupsit vacua, sed Dotem mihi tribuit absq; pretio pretiosam, spiritualium plenitudinem & latitudinem temporalium; illius me constituit vicarium qui habet in vestimento suo scriptum, Rex Regum & Dominus Dominantium: The Church hath not married me without a Fortune; but hath given me the invaluable dowry of God, the fulness of Spirituals, and the latitude of Temporals; hath made me the Vicar of him who hath written on his garment, King of Kings and Lord of Lords.*

Although that, I say, were true, it would not be less necessary to abolish this power, which is the cause of so many disorders, because the Church in those days might have created it for the good of the Church, as she then thought: And having found out that it is to her ruine, she ought to destroy it; for the Chair of *Peter* is for the Church, and not the Church for the Chair of *Peter: Petri Cathedra propter Ecclesiam, non Ecclesia propter Petri Cathedram. Quod propter Charitatem fit, non debet contra Charitatem Militare.* And since that our Faith, according to *Thomas Aquinas*, ought to be founded upon the Word of God only, and not upon the Establishments of the Church, as he says, * *Fides nostra innititur Revelationibus Prophetis & Apostolis Factis; Ecclesia non statuit nisi de non necessariis ad Salutem;* According to this Truth, we are not obliged to believe the Extra-

* Tho. Aquin. summa, part. 1. quæst. 1. Art. 8, & 10.

travagant of Pope *Boniface*, who says, That it is necessary to Salvation to submit to the Pope. And if the Church, according to these People, dared to change the Aristocratical Government, instituted by Jesus Christ, under which the Kingdom of God spread it self so far, Piety flourished, Idolatry was confounded; shall it not be allowable for the Church, and for Princes, who are its natural Protectors, to redeem it out of that Slavery into which the Enemy of Mankind hath reduced it, to its first Purity and Simplicity? Methinks if Men had any sense of Religion, they ought to sigh continually, for the deplorable condition of the Church, and of the *Greeks* and Protestants, whom we have cast headlong into the Evil they now labour under.

Some people will have it, That because the *Greek* Patriarchs among themselves hold that Place which the Council of *Nice*, and the Emperor *Constantine* gave to all Patriarchs, he of *Rome*, who had the first Place, ought still to keep it; and as in Place he was the first Bishop, and the only Patriarch in the *West*, he ought still to enjoy these Prerogatives. But first of all, none of the *Greek* Patriarchs, unless it were that *John* of *Constantinople* against whom St. *Gregory* wrote so vehemently, ever pretended to bear Rule over the other Bishops, nor over the Church, much less over Christian Princes, as the Popes do; and the Patriarch of *Rome* for above Three Hundred Years after his Institution, never attempted it.

Secondly, The Place which the Bishop of *Rome* held, was *Propter Principalitatem Urbis*, in regard of the Dignity of the City, which now hath no weight at all, *Rome* being no longer the Seat of the Empire, but the Sink and Common-shore of all filthy Iniquity, a Den of Thieves, and a Nest of Satan, *Nido di Satanazzo*, and the very Habitation of Sloth, Laziness and Beggary. *Paris*, or *London*, do at this time deserve this Honour a thousand times better. Besides, it was in a time when there were but very few Christians in the *West*; These great States were not yet converted to the Faith: *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*, part of *Spain*, and all the *Northern* Countries, knew not what Christianity was; so that one Patriarch might more easily have the inspection of this small number of Christians who resorted also to *Rome* for their civil Affairs, as to the capital City, where the Emperor resided. How are they now able to govern all the Churches, they who cannot govern that at *Rome*, and, which is worse, that trouble not their Heads about it? Add to this a

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fourth Reaſon, which is, That in thoſe days they were not Temporal Princes as they are become ſince; and had not innumerable Legions of Monks and Beneficiaries at their command, as now they have, which renders this Power the moſt formidable of any upon Earth among the Catholicks.

If becauſe *Rome* had heretofore the firſt Place for the Spirituality before other Cities, ſhe ſhould pretend ſtill to have it, it will thence follow, that ſhe hath it for the Temporality over theſe ſame Cities, ſince the Spiritual Authority of this City, as I have already proved, was founded upon the Temporal and Civil, which ſhe enjoyed as the Seat of the Empire; and ſo in pretending to the Regency of Religion in *France*, *Flanders*, and other Catholick Countries, they pretend alſo to have a Right of treating theſe States as they pleaſe; and they have effectually made them their Subjects and Tributaries, even to the diſpoſing of the Crowns of Kings, as their fancy leads them.

There are others who believe they have hit on the right, when they ſay, that the Pope is *Primus inter Pares*, and that ſo he is the firſt of all Biſhops. But I ask by what Authority? It is true, he was ſo among the Patriarchs, whilſt that *Rome*, as I have ſaid already, was the Seat of the Empire; but now I maintain, that he is *Ultimus inter Pares*, and unworthy of the Name of either Prieſt or Biſhop, being the Tyrant of the Church, and of Chriſtian Princes, and a Temporal Prince himſelf. Were he not a Temporal Prince, all he could lawfully pretend to, would be to be the firſt Biſhop of *Italy*.

I know it will be ſaid, That I ask too much to obtain any thing; and I know that it will be neither better nor worſe; but I will diſcharge my mind, and tell the Truth. God Almighty may raiſe up Princes when he pleaſes, who may reſtore that happy Equality among the Biſhops, under which the Church was heretofore ſo flouriſhing, and Chriſtianity made ſo great Progreſs; which would alſo re-eſtabliſh Peace among all Chriſtians, much better than the Equality of *Turkiſh* Politicks, of which they ſay, *Ittichat Khoga Kopatmas: Equality produceth no Wars:* They mean, the Equality of *Poverty*; that is to ſay, that great men are not to be ſuffered in a Nation; and that being all miſerable, they would make no commotions: Whereas the Equality which I ſpeak of, would produce not only a firm and laſting Peace, but alſo the abundance of all Spiritual and Temporal Goods.

There are also some People who pretend, that if we acknowledg a necessity of having Arch-bishops and Primates, who take their Places above Bishops instituted by Jesus Christ, tho the Dignity of Arch-bishops or Primates is not so; in like manner, for *Orders*-sake we may have a Pope. That might pass, if the Popes did not pretend to be of another Order; if they exercised no Authority over their fellow-brethren; if they were not Temporal and Mighty Princes; if the Clergy did not absolutely depend upon them; if they had nothing but a Pre-eminence of Place over the other Bishops in Assemblies and in Councils; if there were One of them in every Christian State, who should solicite the Prince for the assembling of Provincial Synods every year, to whom he should be subject, as the other Bishops, and should entertain Communion with the other Patriarchs, or Catholick Popes, and with whom he should keep Correspondence, that they might altogether, by the Consent of their Respective Princes, cause General Councils to be assembled, when they should be necessary, which should be held sometimes in one State, and sometimes in another, and wherein should preside men of the greatest Understanding, and the greatest Merit, without exception of Persons; or else every Patriarch in his turn.

Thus was the Church anciently governed without Tyranny; by this means did Religion spread it self abroad with great success in all Countries, and not by a pretended Bishop, who is a Worldly Prince, and hath ruined the Church. We see, that heretofore, among the *Pagans*, Kings have been Sacrificers and Ministers of Religion. Amongst the *Jews* also, at the beginning, we find, that the Heads of Families, who were Soveraigns, did take upon them the offering of Sacrifices, and performed Divine Service; but before these latter times, which is the Sink of all Ages, it was never seen, that Priests plaid the Princes, and that People who ought to employ themselves only in Prayers, and Sacrifices, and whom Jesus Christ, and all the most pure Canons of the Church, do forbid to meddle in Secular Affairs, should compare themselves with, and raise themselves above Kings.

Is it not a comely sight to behold a Temporal Prince wearing Three Crowns one above the other, sitting in a throne covered with Gold and precious Stones, having the Arms both of Sea and Land, many Attendants following him, who are equal to other Princes: Such a Prince as this, I say, to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ! He is then a Carnal Messias, and such a one as the *Jews* do at this day

look

look for: He is then a King of Concupiſcence and of Iniquity. If it be ſo, the *Jews* had reaſon to accuſe him for endeavouring to ſupplant *Cæſar*; the *Romans* would have been in the right to put him to Death; and ſo he would not have been the Redeemer of Mankind.

This Pretenſion of the Popes, as we ſee, is a horrible Blaſphemy, and which yields the Cauſe over to the *Jews* againſt us, and tends to juſtifie every thing they did againſt our Lord Jeſus, and utterly to overturn Chriſtianity. The pretence alſo which they have, that Eccleſiaſticks ought not to be ſubject to their Natural Prince, and are freed from Obedience to him by Jeſus Chriſt; This is to renew againſt our great Saviour the impious Accuſation which the *Jews* brought againſt him, That he would have made himſelf a King, and perſwaded others to Rebellion.

There are others who pretend that the evil is not ſo great that there is a Pope, as that General Councils are no more aſſembled; and ſo they ſay, that we ſhould rather ſpeak of aſſembling a Council, than talk of exterminating the Papacy; becauſe they think that a Council would limit the Pope, and hold the Reins ſhorter over him: But this Papacy ſubſiſting, how ſhall a General Council be called, but that they'le have a hand in't? And if they have, what will this Council tend to? The End of it will be like that of *Trent*, ſad and miſerable. And put the caſe there might be found a Prince zealous, ſtrong, and prudent enough to cauſe a General Council to be aſſembled by an agreement of other Chriſtian Princes, in ſpight of the Pope; what would this Council do againſt the Pope, who would have all the Biſhops for him, both by the Oath which they have taken to him, and by Twenty Millions of Revenue which he hath, and which he would employ to corrupt all the World? What would you do with the Monks, who would be all for him, it being their Intereſt to maintain the Authority and Infallibility of the Pope, becauſe the Priviledges which he hath given to many of them, which are as ancient as their firſt Inſtitution, are not confirmed by any Lawful Council, and ſo are null? And how long ſhould the good condition of this Prince's Affairs laſt, or his good Correſpondence with other Princes, to make the Laws of this Council be obeyed; and that the Pope, who will be all, or nothing, ſhall not hinder the Execution of his Decrees, and continue his Tyranny? And how will you in the mean time keep the Papacy with its hands tied, and what will this ſignifie? It is certainly better to

caſt off the Yoke all at once, than to let it continue without being ſure that it ſhall do no more miſchief. *Tutius eſt perire non poſſe quam juxta periculum non periiſſe*, ſays a certain Author.

We have the ſad Example of the Councils of *Trent* and *Conſtance*; from that of *Trent* we could not hope for any great matters; but even that of *Conſtance*, which ſeemed well inclined to a Reformation, as well as that of *Baſil*, found ſuch horrible reſiſtance in the Court of *Rome*, and among the Eccleſiaſticks, that it never could re-eſtabliſh the ancient Diſcipline. And that ſhews us, that we muſt wholly eradicate this Papacy, and that it is not enough to aſſemble a free Oecumenical Council, but that it muſt be ſome powerful, zealous, and reſolute Prince, who fears nothing but God, and not the Court of *Rome*, who muſt begin, continue, and vigorouſly end the thing, without hearkening to pretended moderate Councils, which tend only to the Churches ruin. The Proverb here ſignifies nothing, That it is better to preſerve the Commonwealth as it is, than to have none at all: For I maintain that here is no Commonwealth, but a perfect Anarchy; and that the Church, inſtead of being governed, is devoured by a Faction of Villains, who eat the people of God like bread.

But ſay they, you ſpeak of aboliſhing the Primacy in the Church; and nevertheleſs there is no Society, no Families, no Colledge but hath it: Without it theſe Societies cannot ſubſiſt. It is not ſo much the Primacy which I condemn, as the Tyranny which hath been joined to it. The Primacy of Place might yet be ſuffered, although Jeſus Chriſt hath not inſtituted it in the Church; but that of *Pope*, is a Primacy of Juriſdiction, to which the Univerſal Church, and the whole World is ſubject, as they pretend. I condemn the Primacy of a Biſhop who is a Worldly Prince, who hath more than Twenty Millions of Revenue; this Primacy, which is the Cauſe of all the Diſorders of the Church; Whereas the end and ordinary uſe of Lawful Primacies, is to maintain good Order in all Societies. And I wiſh nothing more, than to ſee re-eſtabliſhed in the Church that Primacy which Jeſus Chriſt hath there inſtituted; (*viz.*) that of Councils, and that they ſhould be often aſſembled, as they were in the Primitive Church; for it is the want of theſe Councils which hath undone the Church. We ſee in the Preface of the Eleventh Council of *Toledo*, that the Fathers ſay, That having wanted the Light of Councils for the ſpace of Ten Years, the whole World went aſtray, and the Church fell into diſorder and confuſion. How much

much more reaſon have we now to complain of that, we who for above theſe Hundred Years have ſeen none, and which is more, can never hope to ſee a Lawful one, whilſt the Papacy ſhall ſubſiſt? *Subſtracta Luce Conciliorum integro decennio, Matrem Omnium Errorum ignorantiam, otioſas Mentes occupaſſe, adeo ut Babyloniæ Confuſionis olla ſuccenſa purpuratæ Meretricis incrementa Sacerdotes ſequerentur, quia Eccleſiaſtici. Convenius non aderat Diſciplina, nec erat qui Errantium Corrigeret partes, cum Sermo Divinus haberetur Extorris.*

Is not this the cauſe of ſo many Superſtitions, of ſo many Hereſies, Schiſms, and Licentiouſneſs, which we ſee in the Clergy? Is it not a ridiculous thing, that no more Councils ſhall be called, whilſt we ſee the Monks, both *Capucins*, *Carthuſians* and *Jeſuits* often aſſemble their Congregations for the augmentation of their Societies? It is no wonder if the Church daily runs to ruin, whilſt theſe Societies fortifie themſelves. Is it not clear as the day, that if Provincial Synods were called every year, National every three or four years, as heretofore they were under our great Kings; and Oecumenical Councils, at leaſt, once in Ten years, that Remedies would be found out for the Calamities of the Church? Might not a Patriarch in every State, aided by the Secular Power, excute the Decrees of the Church with more facility, leſs jealouſie, and more ſecurity for Religion and for the State, than a forreign Ambitious, and potent Prince, who reſolves to take no care for Religion, but to model every thing to his own Intereſt? If this Patriarch ſhould neglect his Duty, or carry it like a Maſter, ſhould not the Prince chaſtiſe him, nor depoſe him? Experience ſhews us, that the Church never flouriſhed but when ſhe was Ariſtocratically governed, and when there was no other Primacy in the Univerſal Church than that of Councils, and all Primates and Patriarchs were ſubject to them: But ſince the Patriarch of *Rome* hath had the ſole diſpoſing of Religion in the *Weſt*, we have ſeen nothing but Confuſion, Anarchy, Schiſm, Hereſies, Impiety, Atheiſm, Cruelty and Barbarity. *Ipſa Eccleſia Unus eſt Princeps, & Unitati fidelium, non ſingulis hæc Juriſdictio a Domino conceditur*, &c. *Quia Unitas Eccleſiæ multo major eſt atq; perfectior, quam Unitas Unius Regis aut Imperatoris terreni.*

Thus did the Holy Council of *Baſil* anſwer the falſe Reaſons of Pope *Eugenius* his Orators, who pretended, That the Unity of the Church was preſerved much better by a Pope than by the Council.

There are others who would have the Pope's Authority confin'd within the bounds which the Councils of *Conſtance* and of *Baſil* had marked out for it; but they never underſtood the Moral Impoſſibility that there is, not only of making the Popes conſent to it; but ſuppoſe they were conſtrained to conſent to theſe Rules for a ſeaſon, to make them obſerve them always, or for any long time. And Experience confirms what I ſay, with reference even to theſe Councils which have put no ſtop at all to their career; for they live in contempt as well of theſe as of all other Lawful Councils. Have not they called others in *Italy*, who have deſtroyed whatever theſe had eſtabliſhed, even to treat with the Name of Hereſie this Holy Doctrine of the Superiority of the Council? Have not the Popes been ſufficiently Sacrilegious to raze out of the *Roman* Edition of General Councils, the Council of *Baſil* from among the Oecumenical Councils? It is then impoſſible, that with the Impiety and Ambition wherewith the Court of *Rome* is wholly made up, and with the enormous power which the Popes at this time have, which equals that of the greateſt Kings, that they ſhould be reduced to ſubmit themſelves to the Council of *Conſtance*. And even that would ſignifie nothing; for this Council gives them too much Authority; It gives them the power which belongs to the Emperors, of aſſembling General Councils, of preſiding in them, and concluding, and of executing the Canons of Councils, in regard of particular Churches, and even of making Decrees, during the Intervals of Synods, and of being judged only by a General Council.

They ought then to be deprived of this temporal power, the Cardinals to be aboliſhed, and the Monks to be Enfranchiſed, and Releaſed from the raſh Vows they have made to the Popes; the diſpoſing of the Palls of Archbiſhops ought to be taken from him, and the faculty of Inveſting Biſhops, and of diſpencing with them for holding ſo many Benefices; with all the other Simonical Traffick which will ſtill renders him the Tyrant of the Church, the Maſter of all States, and the Devil the poſſeſſor of many ſouls. It is much more eaſie to reſtore all at once the ancient Diſcipline. I promote a Paradox, but my reaſon is, that there will never be a good change, but it muſt happen after ſome ſtrangely ſurprizing, or if I may ſo ſay, ſome violent manner, ſuch violence as forces its way into the Kingdom of Heaven. Whileſt we ſtand upon treating, the Popes ſhall maintain themſelves always with the times, either by In-

Intriegues, or by ſome Deviliſh inventions, the moſt zealous ſhall grow cold upon the buſineſs, Miniſters ſhall be corrupted either by money, or by Cardinals Caps, the Prince ſhall have other affairs found him to look after, or ſhall be killed by the hand of ſome Monk or other: All the Jeſuits and the Monks ſhall be everlaſtingly for the Papacy, whatever ſhew they at this time make. *Gerſon* ſomewhere ſays that there will never be a Reformation if ſome zealous and reſolute Pope doth not procure it by aſſembling a General Council. For my part, I ſay, that if God doth not inſpire ſome great Prince to do it, I ſay that a Reformation will come as ſoon by means of the Devil as the Pope. Firſt of all, the Court of *Rome* profeſſeth an abhorrence of calling General Councils. *Concilio ſemper aborrito da Fontefici*, ſays *Palavicini*: Beſides that, they have eſtabliſhed this fundamental Maxim, That the Pope cannot diveſt himſelf of the leaſt tittle of his Authority, no not for the ſalvation of the whole world; for the Pope, ſay they, is not the Maſter but only the Guardian of this Authority. Nay, they go ſo far as to maintain that the Church would commit Simony ſhould ſhe deſire to diveſt the Pope of this Authority, or of his profits, for the Salvation of Souls. *Primato Apoſtolico, di cui non era Signiore, ma cuſtode*, ſays Cardinal *Palavicini*, that he is not the Lord or Patron, but only the Guardian of the Apoſtolick Primacy. And in another place he ſays theſe words: *Non Eſſendo egli arbitro e padrone della ſua Maggioranza conſtituta da Chriſto, e pero non potendo farle alcun prejudicio.* * He can do no wrong to his Authority conſtituted by Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe he is not the Patron and diſpoſer of it. And again, *Far una ſpecie di Simonia vendendo al Papa la recuperatione dell' anime a prezzo d' entrate e di giuridizzioni ritolte della chieza.* It would be a kind of Simony to ſell the Redemption of Souls to the Pope at the price either of Eſtates, or Juriſdictions taken from the Church. If a Pope would really Reform the Church, the Court of *Rome* would murther him. But as *Peter* of *Blois* ſays, this is the Chair of Peſtilence, wherein people of the greateſt merit are preſently corrupted. They no ſooner aſcend this proud Throne, but ſtraightways they forget they are men, and are by a juſt judgment of God ſtruck with ſtupidity. We have the example of one *Æneas Silvius*, who in the Council of *Baſil* was ſo zealous for the truth, and maintained ſo well the Intereſt of the Church againſt the Popes Tyranny, and nevertheleſs ſo ſoon as he was Elected Pope, he maintained that the Council was inferior to the Pope, and Excommunicated thoſe who believed the contrary.

* Palav. lib. 3. cap. 12.

rrary. This Angel was no ſooner raiſed to this mighty grandeur, but like *Lucifer* he became a Devil. *Ariſtotle* ſays in one place, that it ſometimes falls out that a man loſeth the habit of vertue by one only act of enormous wickedneſs; that there are men *qui uno actu feritatis humanitatem exuunt*, who lay aſide all humanity all at once by one act of barbarouſneſs and inhumanity. This befalls the Popes ſo ſoon as they are elected; they were ſometime honeſt men before, but the Miter being fixed upon their head, they make themſelves be adored by this Sirname of Moſt Holy, *Collo pronome di ſanctiſſimo*, ſays Cardinal *Palavicini*; they are no more men, *but the voice of God and not of men*, as was ſaid of *Herod*. *Sixtus Quintus*, who had been a Keeper of Swine, when he became Pope, Excommunicated King *Henry* the Fourth (of *France*.) This it was that made *Marcellinus* the Second ſay, that he believed not that a *Pope could be ſaved*; and *Pius Quintus*, that *when he was a Monk he had pretty good hopes of his Salvation; that being a Cardinal he began much to fear it; but when he was Pope he abſolutely deſpaired of it*. St. *Hierom* ſpeaks of a certain young Conſul at *Rome* who ſaid, *Facite me Urbis Romanæ Epiſcopum & ero protinus Chriſtianus*, [illegible] *Biſhop of Rome, and I will be a Chriſtian preſently*. We may ſay the contrary of thoſe who for this long time have been made Biſhops of *Rome*, That as ſoon as they have been ſo, they have ceaſed being Chriſtians. The reaſon of that is not only this Tyranny which they exerciſe in the Church, and over the world in contempt of Jeſus Chriſt, and of his Goſpel, but alſo this Temporal greatneſs to which they are raiſed all at once, which turns their brain. We ſcarce ſee a man of a thouſand *Livres* a year, whoſe reaſon is not blinded by his Eſtate, and he ſhall be puffed up with pride, even tho he were born to it; and we ſee but few rich men who are not inſupportable either for their vanity, or for their vices; but few Princes who have any Religion, and in whom power hath not corrupted and defaced all the Idea's of Vertue and of Vice. How then ſhall a poor fellow behave himſelf, who is raiſed all at a clap to ſo high a Dignity that Emperors kiſs his Slippers; and who ſo ſoon as he is choſen, is adored like God, even upon the Altars? This it is that brings down the curſe of God upon all the Popes; and to ſpeak of a good Pope, is like talking of a good Devil. Obſerve this preſent Pope, who is a man the beſt inclined that we have had a long time; to what exceſs of pride is he arrived againſt our [*French*] King, whom he hath threatned to Excommunicate; tho St. *Auguſtin*, whoſe Diſciple they ſay he is,

teach-

teacheth, that no Prince nor his people are ever to be Excommunicated. * *Multitudo non eſt Excommunicanda, nec Princeps populi*, ſays he, *Ubi parabola zizaniorum evolvitur.*

* Aug. apud Gloſſ. Ordin.

But how, ſay they, will you be a Catholick without a Pope? Let there be one in Gods name, but let him be of the order of *Simon Peter*, and not of *Simon Magus*, a Pope who makes no Traffick of the Graces of the Holy Ghoſt, and of Holy things, and who is not a Prince of this world; let him be a Pope who raiſeth not himſelf above other Popes, that is to ſay, other Biſhops, to give them Laws; let him be ſubject to his Prince; let him be ſubject as well to National as General Councils, and not turn all Religion to his particular profit; but to wiſh always to have ſuch Popes as for theſe ſeven or eight hundred years have waſted the Church, a man muſt have no true Idea of Chriſtianity; nay, he muſt have even loſt the Idea of good and evil.

I knew a Prince in *Germany*, who was one of the moſt Catholick Princes in the world, who had abjured Hereſie, and was really converted, having not done it for any carnal advantage, like many baſe people, who we ſee infect inſtead of edifying the Church. This moſt Catholick Prince abhorred the Papacy, and could not endure the Books of our Writers, when there was any thing in them favourable to the Popes Authority. Thoſe who were a little acquainted with the late Duke of *Hanover*, know whether I ſpeak truth or no. We know that *Charles* the Sixth, by the advice of the Divines of the Faculty at *Paris*, made no difficulty of withdrawing himſelf and all his Subjects from the Communion of the Pope, which laſted during the Pontificat of *John* the 23*d*. of *Benedict* the 13*th*. and *Gregory* the 12*th*. and even to give encouragement to all other Princes to do as he had done; and he had much leſs cauſe to do it than we have at this time. You ſee his reaſons in the Letters of the Univerſity of *Paris* in *Theodore a Nyem*, which were, that they would not conſent that the diſorders of the Church ſhould be regulated by a free Council, and that they would not ſubmit themſelves to the Deciſions of the Church. Are not we now again juſt in the ſame condition ſince the Councils of *Conſtance* and of *Baſil*? For thoſe which have been Aſſembled ſince, deſerve not the name of Councils, becauſe there was no liberty in them, and every thing was there done by the Inſpiration, not of God, but the Popes. *France* did but half free it ſelf from this yoke, for quickly after we ſuffered our ſelves to be drawn in, and have been like to have been undone many a time ſince by it.

Nor

Nor do I make any great account of the Conduct of the *Venetians*, which is so highly commended, who after having known the nature of the Papacy, and the Genius of this power, have but half freed themselves from this slavery, nay less than half. They have behaved themselves in this according to their ordinary custom, following moderate Councils, where excess was not to be feared, and where it could not be committed: *Consilia media & quod inter ancipitia deterrimum est, nec ausi sunt satis, nec providerunt.* For they have still this Viper in their bosom, which they stupifie as much as they can; but she may some time or other revive and devour them. They have every day a thousand difficulties with these cunning *Romans*, who will be always spying out occasions to destroy them, and to reduce them absolutely under their yoke. They should renounce perfectly and for ever all dependance upon this See, and thus shall they be better able to regulate their Clergy, which is as licentious as that of *Rome*, which they dare not reform, because it would be to be feared that to maintain themselves in this *Roman* Libertinism they should give assistance to the Pope to oppress the Republick, that they might always enjoy the full liberty of the children of the See of *Rome*: *Vulgo dissoluta gratior est quam Temperata vita & vivere ut quisq; velit permisit, quoniam sic magna erit tali Reipublicæ faventium Magnitudo.* * *Et hoc Humanitas vocabatur ac ne pars servitutis esset*, &c.

* Arist. lib. 6. cap. 4.

Will any man still say, Ought we not to be of the *Roman* Church? People are not contented with being in the Catholick and Apostolick Church, if they are not in the *Roman*; they seem desirous of having a share in the Abominations of this City, and of this Court; but the *Romans* are not at all desirous to be of the *Gallican* Church. I would fain know for what reason we should be rather of the *Roman* Church than the *Romans* of the *Gallican* Church. *Rome* is not as heretofore, it was the Seat of the Empire, and tho it were, we hold no longer of the Empire, and it is a contradiction for a man to be in the Catholick Church, in the *Gallican*, and in the *Roman* Churches both together; for the first is the General, and the other two are particulars. You may always have Communion with all the *Romans* who live in the fear of God, with the Pope of *Rome* himself if he be a Christian; but not to depend upon him, nor upon *Rome*. You shall be as the Christians of the Primitive Church were for more than six hundred years. You shall pay no more Annates, you shall buy no more Bulls, nor Dispensations. You shall be much

more

more Catholick than before, for then you may hold Communion with the *Greeks* and Proteſtants, by drawing them home to the Faith of the Church, whereas the See of *Rome* is at this time a wall of Separation between them and us.

CHAP. III.

That the pretended Authority of the Papacy hath never done any good to the Church. A Confutation of whatever is ſaid to the advantage of this Power to prove it neceſſary to the world, by ſhewing at the ſame time that it hath been the cauſe of all the Evils of the Church.

THEY maintain that the Papacy hath heretofore done, and ſtill doth a great deal of good to the Church, and to the world; this I can confute all at once, by a thing which the world knows, which is, that we have in no place ſo many true Chriſtians as in thoſe Catholick Countries where this power is leaſt known, as in *France*, *Flanders*, and *Germany*. But let us ſee particularly what good the Papacy doth. It is a common ſaying that there is nothing ſo bad but that you may make ſome uſe of it, either in its nature, or in conjunction with other things. Let us then examine the uſefulneſs of the Papacy, omitting nothing that can be ſaid to its advantage: *It is*, ſays Cardinal *Perron*, *The Center and the root of Chriſtian Unity*. Theſe are fine words, I confeſs, but we ſhall find but very little ſenſe in them if we a little conſider them; for I ask him, In what this Unity doth conſiſt, and how the Pope is the center and the root of it? † If this Unity be in the pure ſervice of God, methinks that God ſhould be the center of it, and not the Pope, and that it is alſo God who is the root of it; that is, the influencing principle over the will and ſtrength of men to ſerve him and to do well. If this Unity be for doing what is evil, it is then but a conſpiracy; and I do confeſs that in regard of wicked Clergy-men, who are the members of the Pope, he is the ſource of all their Impiety, Ambition, and Diſſoluteneſs, and he is the center of the Unity of theſe people, who belong all to him; and as for them-

† The Popes make no Unity, there is no Unity among them. The Popes are wicked men.

themſelves, he is the center of their worſhip, and would be ſo to all other men. * *Palavicini* ſays that the union and ſubmiſſion of all Catholicks to the Pope, makes a band, a life perfectly Politick, *Una conjunctione di vita perfetta mente Politica.* He ſays, not a *Chriſtian*, but a *Politick* life, and according to him it is the ſame thing. † And in another place he ſays, the Church is the moſt happy Body Politick in the world: *Corpo Politico il piu felice che ſia in terra.* This Unity, as I ſaid before, conſiſts only in their obedience to the Pope, ‖ whom they all honour for their profit; looking upon him as the ſource of Riches, of Honours, and of all the pleaſures which they have according to the fleſh, *Secondo la carne.* This Unity is in the conformity of judgment, which they all make of the riches of the Churches Patrimony, which is, that they are good. It is certain, that it is not in their *opinions*; for what Clergy-man is there who cares for the Popes judgment, when it is contrary to his own? What Unity is there between the Jeſuits and the Pope now reigning? What Unity is there among many Sects of the Monks who make war upon one another, and mortally hate each other? What Unity is there of Morals among one or other, the Jeſuits and the good Catholicks whom they treat as Hereticks, Apoſtates, Antichriſts, and Devils? What Unity was there between the *Janſeniſts* and Pope *Alexander* the Seventh? We ſee that for twenty years laſt paſt the Popes are between theſe two Sects as between the Anvil and the Hammer, not knowing how to govern themſelves, becauſe on one ſide the Jeſuits diſpoſe of all the powers of *Europe*; and on the other, their Morals deſtroy Chriſtianity and Humanity it ſelf; in this they are oppoſed by the *Janſeniſts*, who are followed by all ſorts of people that are not loſt in Ignorance or Irreligion. How can they ever agree in their opinions? becauſe the deciſions of one Pope do often times overthrow thoſe of another, and ſometimes they are themſelves Hereticks, as ſome people do accuſe the preſent Pope of being a *Janſeniſt*, which is according to them worſe than Heretick? What Unity of Religion is there between the *Spaniſh*, the *Italian*, and *French* Nations? whereof the two firſt have ſcarce any knowledg of God, but are almoſt all Idolaters; and the laſt is very different from them. Laſtly, to judg of this Unity, we need only to read the Books of the ſeveral Doctors, and we ſhall find them of very different opinions even in regard of the Pope himſelf. The Divines of *Italy* make him a God on Earth; thoſe of *France* and *Germany* believe nothing on't. The Univerſities of *Rome* and *Bolonia* determine

* Palavici. in his Hiſtory of the Council of Trent.

‡ Palav. lib. 3. cap. 20.

‖ Ibidem.

†

termine that he is above the Councils; thoſe of *France* and of *Louvain* prove very well the contrary. * The *Italian* Councils of *Florence*, the *Lateran*, and of *Trent*, will have him above a General Council; thoſe of *Conſtance* and of *Baſil* maintain that it is a deteſtable Hereſie to believe ſo. If there be a Unity, how comes it to paſs that it is ſaid, and that with reaſon too, that the Pope hath a different ſoul in every State where he governs? If there were a Unity, there would be but one Soul; they muſt have greater abilities than either St. *Peter* or St. *Paul*, who could not unite mens minds in the Churches of *Corinth*, of *Philippi*, and of *Galatia*, where we learn by the Goſpel that many Errors were taught in theſe Apoſtles times. The Cardinal *Palavicini* ſays alſo, that *Il Principiato Apoſtolico maintienne in unita, in regola & in decoro tutta la Chieza*, the Apoſtolick Primacy maintains in Unity, in Order, and in Beauty, the whole Church. To know the truth of what this Cardinal ſays, we need only to conſider what edification the Popes have given to the Church ſince *Boniface* the Third, Patriarch of the Popes, and firſt Head of the Church. † Was not the action whereby he got to be Univerſal Biſhop, a good example to the Church? and that of Pope *Zachary* in regard of *Chilperic*? Is there any thing in the world that favours perfidiouſneſs and injuſtice more than theſe Examples? See the Hiſtories of *Platina*, of *Genebrard*, of *Sigebert*, and many others; and you ſhall find that there are no crimes, exceſſes, nor abominations which the Popes have not committed to bring about their Affairs for many Ages. Is it not a matter of great conſolation for honeſt men to ſee in this Seat, Children, Magicians, Atheiſts, Adulterers, and Sodomites, as Hiſtory affirmeth, and not ten or twelve only in all, but fifty one after another? *Baronius* himſelf doth not deny it, if the Church had had ſuch Heads as theſe, ſhe would have been long ſince aboliſhed upon Earth. But to make ſhort work on't, Was it not they who ruined the Church and Religion among the *Greeks*, by giving them over as a prey to the *Turks*, becauſe they would not ſubmit to the Popiſh yoke, but demanded the obſervation of the Holy Canons? Were not they the cauſe of the loſs of *Hungary* by their perfidiouſneſs, having adviſed the King of *Hungary* to violate the Treaty made with the *Turks*? for which the *Hungarians* were by a juſt judgment of God cut all to pieces in the Battel of *Varnes*, as a Poet of thoſe times relates, who brings in the King of *Hungary* ſpeaking thus:

* Gerſon.

Lib. 8. c. 17.

‡ Complaints againſt the Pope.

Me, niſi Pontifices juſſiſſent rumpere fœdus,
Non ferret Scythicum Pannonis ora jugum.
Diſcite Mortales non temerare Fidem.

Can it be denied but that it was they who by their deteſtable Simony, and by their pride, have deſtroyed Religion in all thoſe Countries which are called Proteſtants? See but the Complaints which all great men for many Ages have made againſt this See, and thoſe who have been in poſſeſſion of it, and you may judg of the ſolidity of what Cardinal *Palavicini* ſaith, that they maintain the Church in Unity, in Order, and in Honour. I will relate ſome Examples of it. *John* of *Salisbury* Biſhop of *Chartres*, ſpeaks thus, † *The Scribes and Phariſees are ſate in the Church of* Rome, *impoſing weighty burthens upon the people. The Soveraign Pontife is an inſupportable grievance to all honeſt men. His Legates commit ſo many Enormities, that it looks as tho the Devil were let looſe; whoſoever doth not acquieſce in their Doctrine, is by them treated as a Heretick.* And the Council of *Rheimes* Aſſembled under *Hugh Capet*, and *Robert* his Son, crys out thus, *Shall it be ſaid that an infinite number of Biſhops and Prieſts who are Illuſtrious for their merit, and for their knowledg, ſhall ſubmit themſelves to ſuch Maſters? What means this, moſt Reverend Fathers, What think you that this man is, whom we ſee ſitting upon a lofty Throne, ſhining all with Gold, and clothed with Purple?* We have ſpoken of the Letter of the Emperor *Barbaroſſa* to the Princes of the Empire, which *Aventine* makes mention of; the ſame Author alſo produces the Speech of an Archbiſhop who preſided in the States of the Empire held at *Ratisbon*; there are theſe words: *The Pope teacheth us one thing, which is this, That there is this difference between Chriſtian Princes and thoſe who are not ſuch, that the firſt bear rule over their Subjects, and on the contrary the Subjects (viz. the Popes) ought to rule over their Princes. Our Lord himſelf took upon him the form of a Servant to ſerve his Diſciples, and to kiſs their feet; but theſe Miniſters of Babylon will reign themſelves alone, and cannot ſuffer an equal; they will never be at reſt till they have laid all at their feet, till they ſit in the Temple of God, and even raiſe themſelves above God. He deſpiſeth the Holy Aſſemblies and Councils of his Brethren, and of his Maſters. He is afraid of being compelled to give an account of what he hath committed againſt the Laws. He ſpeaks of great things as tho he were God. His mind runs upon new deſigns of eſtabliſhing an Empire for himſelf. He changeth the Laws of God, and makes others of his own head. He defiles all things, he robbeth, he deceives and murthers.* † *Honorius* Biſhop of *Autun* ſpeaks of him after the ſame manner: *Turn*, ſays he, *toward theſe Citizens of Babylon, and behold what they are,*

§ Joannes Sarisbur. in Polycratico.

Aventinus in Oratione Archymiſtæ ad Proceres Imperii.

† Honor. Auguſtodun. in Dialogo de Prædeſt. & Libero Arbitrio.

† &c.

&c. *They contrive at all times to do evil*, &c. *and instruct others to do the same; They sell Holy things, and buy off Crimes, that they may not go alone into Hell; They defile the Priesthood by their Impurity: they seduce the People by their Hypocrisie; they reject all the Scriptures whereby we obtain Salvation. Consider also the Monks; they deceive men by their Habits, despising God, and provoking his Wrath by their Hypocrisie. Behold also the Convents of Nuns; they learn Immodesty from their Childhood*, &c.

* And *Peter* of *Blois*, *Take away, Lord, the Idol from thine House, and bruise the Horns of this man of sin; They pervert every thing at* Rome, *and give all sorts of liberty to the Monks, who give themselves over to all the Excesses of Sensuality, for which they have Absolution for a yearly Pension which they pay. Thus doth the Prince of* Sodom *govern himself as well as his Disciples, who are sate in the Seat of Pestilence*, &c. * And St. *Bernard*, who cries out, speaking of Popish Tyranny, *O miserable Spouse*, says he, *who art committed to such keepers! They are not thine Husband's Friends, but Rivals: We see all Honours heaped up upon them, and they are loaden with the Riches of the Lord, and yet they do him no Honour. From hence come all these Ornaments of the Whore, these Actors Habits, this Royal Equipage*, &c. *The Plague of the Church is within its Bowels, and incurable.* ‖ *A shameful Traffick hath been also made of Ecclesiastical Offices and Dignities, nor doth any body value them but for their profit. It is not the Salvation of Souls that they look after, but how to enrich themselves: 'Tis for that they are shaved, frequent the Churches, and say Masses.* And in another place; *It looks, Lord Jesus, as tho all the Christians had conspired against thee; and they themselves are the first to persecute thee, that seem to have the Primacy in the Church.* And the like in many other places.

* Petrus Blesensis in Epist. ad quendam Officialem.

* Bernard de Consid. Eugen. l. 3. c. 5.

‖ Bernard super Psalm 90. v. 6. Ser. 6.

* He observes in his 91st Epistle, that the Popes did already spoil every thing that was done in the Councils, which made him say, That he passionately wished to see a Council where Traditions were not defended with so much Obstinacy, nor observed with Superstition; because the Popes brought in great Abuses under the Pretext of Tradition. *Ad illud Concilium toto desiderio feror, in quo Traditiones non obstinatius defensentur aut superstitiosius observentur. Recedant a me qui dicunt, nolumus esse meliores quam Patres nostri.* These were not Oecumenical Councils, but such as *Leo* the Tenth assembled, from which the ‖ *Sorbon* appealed, by reason of the Abuses which were there established, and wrote to him, That his Council was not assembled in the Spirit of God, in the Name of the Lord. See what our *Probus* says, who was Bishop of *Toul*, under *Honorius* the Fourth: He cries out, *Alas! how long shall these Vultures of* Romulus

* Bernard Epist. 91.

‖ Apellatio Universitat. Parisiens. contra Leonem.

† Petrarque in lib. Epist. sine Titulo.

has *abuse our Patience, or rather, Dullness?* † And the Great *Petrarque*, *Who, I pray, is there that ought not to detest this* Babylon, *which is the miserable Habitation of all sorts of Vice and Wickedness*, &c? *I know it by Experience, that in't there is no Piety, nor Charity, nor Faith, nor Fear of God; nothing Holy, nothing Just*, &c.

‡ Isid. Pel. lib. 1. Epist. 323.

† It is now above a thousand years since, that *Isidore Peluſiota* commended a Priest for having refused to be made a Bishop, by reason of the great difference between the Bishops of his own time, and those of former Ages; *because*, says he, *the Dignity of sweetness of Humour, and of Civility, was changed into Tyranny; For in former times they suffered Death for the Salvation of all; now they cause the Death of their Flocks, not by cutting their Throats (which would be a less heinous Crime), but by giving Scandal to the destruction of Souls; They then gave their Goods to the Poor, but now they turn to their own profit the very Portion of the Poor: They then mortified their Bodies by fasting, now they soften them by Luxury; Then they honoured Virtue, now they persecute the Lovers of Piety: They then spoke greatly in commendation of Chastity, but now——— I will not say any thing of the odious*, &c. He here holds his peace, and gives you the liberty to think what he cannot with modesty express.

*Alv. Pelag. de Planctu Eccleſiæ lib. 2. cap. 15.

* *Alvarez Pelagius*, a *Portugal* Bishop, after having made an honourable mention of the first Bishops of *Rome*, complains thus of their Successors: *It is now a long time since their Successors have raised themselves in Authority, but they are very different in Holiness, getting themselves in to be Bishops of* Rome (*would to God that this intrusion were made without a Devillish Agreement before-hand*), *enriching and raising their Neighbours, living themselves deliciously, conferring Dignities upon their Friends, building of Towers and Palaces in* Babylon (*that is to say*, Rome, *according to St.* Hierom), *kindling of Wars, keeping up of Parties in* Italy, *tho there be but one Church, embezelling the Goods of the Church, putting unworthy Men into Offices, vaunting themselves in their Chariots, Elephants, Horses, Costly Apparel, and their great Train of Guards and Worldly Power; invading many times the Power of Temporal Princes, taking no care for the Salvation of Souls, and what not? wholly minding the desires of the Flesh.*

‖ *That the Papacy is an Obstacle unto Piety.*

‖ Besides these Subjects of Complaint, which are of great importance, there is yet another, which cries more loud to God for Vengeance, which is, That the Papacy is an Obstacle unto the Piety of those Christians who are subject to its Yoke. We are not of our own Nature virtuous; but on the contrary, we are born in sin, and with-

without the particular Grace of God there is in us always a ſtrong Diſpoſition to do evil. If then men are not furniſhed with means to reſiſt theſe ill Inclinations, it is evident, that they will let themſelves be carried away by them: But if inſtead of furniſhing them with theſe means, they have greater occaſion given them to do evil, there is no doubt but we ſhall be ſo far from inſpiring them with the love of Virtue, that we ſhall engage them in ſin. Now the Papacy, according to the ſtate wherein it now is, and for many Ages hath been, hath ſuch ill qualities, that it takes away from Chriſtians the Occaſions of doing good, and offereth them others of doing evil. It is one of the Properties of our Mind to be led very much by Example, eſpecially by thoſe who make a figure in the World, and have Authority over others. Thus the behaviour of the Monks, and of the Prieſts, ſavouring ſcarce of any thing but Covetouſneſs and Ambition, the Natural Diſpoſitions which we have to theſe Vices are by this means ſtrengthned. I acknowledg, that Preachers do inſtruct the people, That to make themſelves acceptable unto God, and to have a ſhare in the Kingdom of Heaven, they muſt refrain from theſe evil Paſſions; and they build this Obligation upon the Precepts of the Goſpel: but men acting exceedingly more by the hope and fear of preſent good or evil, than of that which is future, the efficacy of all the lovelineſs of a God, who gave this Precept, of the hope of Paradice, and fear of Hell, becomes extreamly weakened in them, by the ill Example of thoſe who by their Habit and Condition, ſeem, and ought to make profeſſion of a Life more pure and diſengaged from the Intereſts of this World. For altho they embrace not formally this Opinion, That there is neither God, nor Heaven, nor Hell; and that on the contrary, they hold theſe Doctrines to be very true; yet nevertheleſs this ill Example makes them act as if they did wholly reject them; this damnable Example having ſo mortal a poiſon in it, that it makes them believe, that their Teachers, being able men, would themſelves live conformable to theſe Inſtructions, if they thought them Divine; and they themſelves leading not this life, 'tis probable that they do not believe what they preach and teach. The Scripture alſo in many places highly enveigheth againſt Paſtors of an ill Life, the diſorder of their manners being a ſtumbling-block to thoſe whom they have the care of. But tho the Irregularities of Paſtors did not make ſo ill an impreſſion upon the minds of the people, whilſt perſons who deſire to be ſaved, and are humbled when they perceive within themſelves a repugnancy to follow thoſe ways

which

which the Gospel hath marked out, hear speak of able men, and of almost whole Orders, whom, for instance, the Gospel enjoyns to be charitable, know that no more is employed that way than what remains to him who spares no cost to appear Great, and to keep up his Port, according to the Custom of the World, and other such like Interpretations of all the Precepts of Jesus Christ, do not they find themselves inclined to embrace these Explications, thereby satisfying their desires, and thinking to quiet their Consciences? Those who favour the Papacy shall tell you, That the Pope is so far from ordering such pernicious Maxims to be taught, that he doth abhor them, and wish with all his heart, that they would teach and promote contrary ones.

Besides, that many Popes have themselves entertained ill Opinions, I will grant it for the present; but the Pope, who pretendeth to be the only Head of the Church, and that it belongs to him alone to judge absolutely of Ecclesiastical things and persons, not reproving them; nay, oftentimes shutting the mouths of those who would oppose them, who sow, and spread abroad such dangerous Maxims, doth uphold these pernicious Opinions; which we have the greater reason to believe, because he withdraws the Monks, and many of the Clergy, from the Jurisdiction of the Bishops. If it be said, That he cannot silence them, by reason of their too great Authority; it is then manifest, that the Papacy, such as it is, doth suffer the ill Example, and these pernicious Opinions, and is not able to hinder them, unless it be in matters of very small importance. And thus far it is an Obstacle unto Piety, since no body can apply a Remedy, whilst the Pope shall be acknowledged the Head and Master of the Church.

The Second Argument, which sheweth, That the Papacy is an Obstacle unto true Virtue, is, that it makes use of such practices as promote a false, and only seeming, instead of true Piety. Some Catholicks do teach, That Contrition is necessary to make Confession valid. But this Doctrine is not much followed; That which hath the Vogue, and reigns most in the World, is, that Attrition is sufficient, which is only a simple Sorrow for having sinned, and that too occasioned but by the fear of Hell. The people who are instructed in this Opinion, believe readily, that it is an easie matter to be justified before God; and so think, that after having sinned a great while, they shall at their Death receive Absolution of their sins, by saying a *Peccavi:* For what man is there who is not afraid

afraid of being Damned? The great multitude of Plenary Indulgences, and others, which are as common as Water, doth also marvellously contribute to the casting men into Impenitence, and to make them at the same time believe, that their Consciences are in safety, under pretence of observing those Exercises which pass for Pious, tho they are not so.

I could produce many other Reasons, to demonstrate the Truth of what I say; but let these suffice.

The Pope, pretending to be the only Soveraign Judge of Religion, not silencing these false and pernicious Teachers; nay, not being able to do it, if he would; Is not then the Papacy an Obstacle unto true Piety, since it introduces a false one in its place? There are good people among the Catholicks, I confess; but the Papacy contributes nothing to that. On the contrary, those who believe, and live well, it is God, and not the Pope, who is the Author of their Piety, as well as of their Profession, which is rather destroyed than maintained by the usual Pride and Impiety of the Popes; from whence it comes, that no man now a days believes but what he will; so that the whole World is full of *Deists*, *Socinians*, *Libertines*, and impious persons.

† But they say, That at least, the Papacy doth maintain the *External Unity*, and that is a great Advantage. Yet I deny that; For what does it contribute to this outward Unity? But besides that, it serves only to cheat the World, whilst there is no inward Unity. If they mean the Unity in Ceremonies, First of all, this would be no great matter; for Ceremonies make not the Essence of Religion, but are only the out-side of it; and besides, they are very different, according to the several Countries; and the Popes are not the Authors of them: If they were, it were enough to condemn them. Besides all this, there are fewer Sects and Factions, less Divisions, and by consequence, more Unity among the *Greeks*, who have many Patriarchs, than among us. I acknowledge indeed, that it is rather Ignorance that unites them, than Reason or Piety.

† *Of the Popes maintaining the Exterior Unity.*

† But they tell us, that the Popes spare nothing for the Conversion of the *Greeks* and Protestants; they bestow on them both Money and Benefices. To that may be added, That they have not spared even the *Blood* of Hereticks for their Conversion, as History informs us. But if it be their Conversion which they do heartily desire, why do not they renounce the Authority which they have u-

‡ *Expence for the Conversion of the* Greeks.

ſurped in the Church and in the World? Why do not they re-eſtabliſh things in a Chriſtian manner, in the ſame State they were in, in the days of the Apoſtles, and of the Primitive Church? Why do not they condemn the Blaſphemies which are ſpoken in favour of their Government, and deſtroy the Maxims by which they have managed themſelves ſo long? They anſwer, That then their lives would be in danger, and that the Court of *Rome* would deſtroy them, as they did *Adrian* the Sixth, who thought to have reformed the Church; of whom ‖ Cardinal *Palavicini* gives this Account, That he was *Ottimo Eccleſiaſtico, Pontefice Mediocre*, a Good Prieſt, but an Indifferent Pope.

‖ Palav. l. 2. cap. 3. & 7.

But if the Popes cannot find a Remedy for the Diſorders which are ſo prevalent, becauſe, as they ſay, their Authority is not ſufficient, what are they then good for, and why ſhall we any longer ſuffer this Tyranny in the Church? If they can find a Remedy, and will not, they are then not only unprofitable, but deteſtable Creatures. It is certainly one or other, or both together; for we ſee, that every thing is overturned in the Church. And what? If they are the Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, and Succeſſors of St. *Peter*, ought they not to think themſelves happy, to die for the Glory of God, and Good of the Church? Is it better to be the Object of Mens Worſhip, to provoke the Jealouſie of God, and to do ſo much miſchief in the Church? Where is the Zeal of *Moſes*, or of St. *Paul*, who would have died for their Brethren, and have been even accurſed; and of the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*, who ſuffered Martyrdom ſo Couragiouſly? They love rather to give them Money, and Benefices, becauſe that thus they put out all to great Uſury; they ſow that they may reap; they give what is none of their own, or elſe what ſignifies nothing to them. If it be true, that they are careful of the Salvation of theſe People, why are they not ſo of their own? Why do they not labour for the Salvation of Catholicks? That would coſt them no Money: There needs nothing but to allow the Reading of the Holy Scripture every where, and recommend it, as God hath recommended it to us; to ſuffer Divine Service to be read in a Language which every body underſtands; For it cannot be denied, but that the want of theſe things doth produce among us great Ignorance, with which Piety

Piety is never to be found: But to give Money to convert People, it is the mark of a very prophane Spirit, and a very dishoneſt method, and an Example for *Mahometans* and Hereticks to make uſe of, even towards Chriſtians. And to give Benefices, it is yet worſe; for by this the Clergy is filled up more and more with Hypocrites, and People of no Religion, who ſpend the Goods of the Poor upon Debauchery and Luxury, and moſt commonly are of no uſe at all to the Church.

They ſay, That they make Religion to be reſpected: But how? Is it by their own Piety, or Sanctity, or that of their Court, or by their Humility? No truly, theſe Vertues are wholly there † unknown, and the contrary Vices have ruled the Roſt long ſince; but their fine Court, and the Greatneſs and Magnificence of the Cardinals, are the things we hear of. But are theſe the things that ought to make men love Religion? Is it Gold and Silver, coſtly Furniture, Riches, Carnal Pleaſures, which the Prelates glut themſelves withal? Is it their *Cavalcades* to *Montecavallo*, their Horſe and Foot-Guards, their Armies and their Fleets, which make Religion to be reſpected? If it be ſo, both Jeſus Chriſt, and his Apoſtles, deſerved to be deſpiſed, in compariſon of their Vicars; and the Chriſtian Religion alſo was very contemptible in their days. Is it to Excommunicate all the World when they pleaſe, without Authority, without Cauſe, and againſt the Nature of the Goſpel, which is Charity it ſelf? But wiſe men are ſo far from reſpecting them for this, that they look upon them as Fools. Is it to hold a Chappel, or Conſiſtory, where they treat only of prophane things, and of promoting of Cardinals? What doth this ſignifie, or what Relation hath it to the Glory of God, or the Salvation of Men? And what is there in all this, which the Patriarch of *Venice*, or the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, might not do as well as the Pope, if he had a mind to it? We muſt not diſſemble. All the Reſpect which men have for the Papacy, at leaſt, they who hope for no advantage by it, comes only from the Reſpect, or from the Fear which they ſee Princes have of it. And this reſpect of Princes, if it be voluntary, proceedeth from great Ignorance of Religion, in

† *Of the Popes making Religion to be reſpected, and accommodating the differences of Princes.*

which they have been brought up for that purpoſe, or from the ill Council of ſome Ambitious Clergy-man, who compaſſes his Deſigns at the Prince's Expence. If this Reſpect be forced, as ordinarily it is, it is then out of the fear which men have of the Popes Power; whereby he rules the vaſt Numbers of the Eccleſiaſticks, and eſpecially the Monks, who govern the meaner People; who, as *Palavicini* ſays, are the diſpoſers of the Religion of Countries.

It is ſaid, That they have the Power of making the Laws of God to be obſerved. If ſo, they ought themſelves to give an Example; they ought to apply to themſelves what our Saviour ſaid to St. *Peter*, not to draw his Sword. It is a thing both ridiculous and horrible, that theſe People ſhould have Armies, and make War. They do it in *Germany*, after the Biſhop of *Rome* his Example; But where is it that they make the Laws of God to be obſerved? Is there any place where they are violated more than where they have moſt Authority? Is *Rome* at this day better than *Sodom*? Do not they on the contrary, favour, as much as in them lies, the very Crime, by the Example of their Court, by their Expences, by their pretending to exempt all Clergy-men from the Juriſdiction of the Civil Magiſtrate; that ſo they may commit all ſorts of Crimes, and go unpuniſhed? But they ſay furthermore, That they make *Kings ſtand in Awe*, and hinder them from profeſſing *Hereſie*. On the contrary, it is they who made them become Hereticks, as in *England*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, and who by their Tyranny, hinder them from returning into the boſom of the Church.

It is alſo pretended, That they are very uſeful for the compoſing of Differences between Princes, being looked upon as common Fathers to them all. On the contrary, their Artifices and Ambition, are ſo well known, that there is no Prince whom they are more diſtruſtful of. They never carried on their own Intereſt better, than during the Wars of *Italy*, *Germany*, *France* and *Spain*, which either they always began, or kept on foot. They are alſo conſtant Enemies to Great Princes. What is alledged might take place, if the Popes were not themſelves become Temporal Princes, at the Expence of the Emperors, and other Princes, whom they have robbed. And it is known, that they have Pretenſions over all Chriſtian

ſtian Kingdoms; That there is no Court more refined in Policy than theirs, or that makes leſs Conſcience of taking to themſelves what belongs to another. In truth, they think it not taken wrongfully, becauſe they pretend that it is their Right; that the Pope is *Sennor del Mondo*; and they call him, *Noſtor Sennore*, *Our Lord*, as well as Jeſus Chriſt.

There is no State in *Europe* which they have not endeavoured many times to deſtroy, and which they have not greatly endamaged. † *Matthew Paris* relates to us that King *John* of *England*, becauſe he would not receive an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* whom Pope *Innocent* the Third had Elected againſt the Canons, he was firſt Excommunicated by *Innocent*, who accordingly gave away his Kingdom to *Philip* the *Auguſt* King of *France*; and that poor King *John* was compelled to implore the Popes mercy, who received him very bountifully, on condition that from thenceforth his Kingdom ſhould depend upon the Holy See, ſhould be Tributary to it, and pay 20000 Marks of Gold every year. And that this King having recovered his courage, reſolved to Abjure Chriſtianity as an evil Religion, thereby deſigning to caſt off the Popiſh yoke. Becauſe he made himſelf the Popes Vaſſal, he was called the Apoſtolick King. I wonder why the Kings of *France* and *Spain* will not add to the Titles of *Moſt Chriſtian* and *Moſt Catholick*, that of *Apoſtolick* Kings at the ſame price as this King *John* of *England* did. 'Tis not his Holineſs's fault, they may have it when they pleaſe.

† M. Paris in Hiſt. Anglix.

They anſwer, that it is true that they have heretofore cauſed diſorders, but that it will never fall out ſo again, that it was ſome hot headed men; that amongſt the Apoſtles themſelves there was found a *Judas*. But I maintain that all theſe diſaſters proceeded not only from the pettiſh humour of any one Pope, but were the natural effects of the Principles of the Papacy. And tho we do not ſee it viſibly break forth every day by ſome bloody example, yet we ought not to believe that the habit or the will is ever the leſs, but that there is ſome external extraordinary reaſon which ſuſpends the Action, and which does ſometimes make them act directly contrary to their own inclination. Do not we ſee that the Inquiſition it ſelf at *Rome*, that Impious Tribunal which hath the power of authoriſing the greateſt crimes, and of Canonizing for the Popes Intereſt, even Parricides, and the Aſſaſſins of our Kings; as amongſt others by a Decree of the ninth of *November* 1609, it did condemn the Decree

The Popes have on at this time a diſguiſe, waiting for an advantage. We ought to be always upon our Guard againſt them.

cree of the Parliament of *Paris* given out againſt *John Chatel*, who had attempted to Murther *Henry* the Fourth. This Tribunal, I ſay, hath not long ſince condemned the Jeſuits Morals, tho they were perfectly conformable to the Principles of the Inquiſition, and we ſee that the Jeſuits of *France* are at this time in the Kings Intereſt againſt the Pope, which is abſolutely contrary to their Maxims, and to all their former conduct; which ſhews, that it is not true, that becauſe an ill perſon does a good action he is no more to be feared: *Tho a man be extreamly wicked, it does not follow from thence that every thing he does ſhall be ſo.* We muſt not think that the habit is loſt, becauſe we do not always ſee its acts: Philoſophers tell us that it is often ſo. It is a ſort of a Truce and not a Peace. † *Non pax ſed induciæ, bellum enim manet, pugna ceſſat. A Cobler,* ‖ ſays *Horace*, *is ſtill a Cobler, tho his Stall be ſhut.* [*Et Alfenus vafer omni abjecto inſtrumento Artis, clauſaq; taberna, ſutor erat.* Thus the Pope remains ſtill Pope, tho he ſometimes do a good Action. * *Valerius Maximus* ſays in a certain place that there are people, *Quorum animus peregrinatur in nequitia, non habitat*, whoſe minds light upon iniquity, but like a Traveller in an Inn they fix not; ſo may it be ſaid of the Popes, *Quorundam paparum animus peregrinatur in bonitate, non habitat*; that they ſometimes touch upon a good action, but cannot hold to it. The Viper is a very dangerous creature, tho ſhe doth not always bite, *when it lyes in her power.* But it is never good to truſt her. *Nemo juxta viperam ſecuros ſomnos capit, quæ ſi non percutit certe ſollicitat.* † Says St. *Hierom* ſomewhere. The Papacy is juſt the ſame, it is the Chair of Peſtilence, *Cathedra Peſtilentiæ*, where the beſt men are corrupted. It is what he very well underſtood, who ſaid that the greateſt harm he could wiſh a man was, that he were Pope. ‖ And the Holy *Carthuſian* Father that praiſes God that none of his Order had ever yet been Pope. How can any man maintain that Princes need not ſtand in fear of the Pope, when three Popes of this preſent age have condemned the opinion, that the Pope cannot depoſe Kings, as wicked and contrary to the Faith? *Accipe nunc Danaum inſidias & crimine ab uno diſce omnes.* * Theſe were *Paul* the Fifth, *Innocent* the Tenth, and *Alexander* the Seventh, of whom it may be ſaid, that they were *Optimi Pontifici, Eccleſiaſtici mediocri*, that they were true Popes, but very indifferent Clergymen, who will be both Judg and party in their own cauſe, and pretend that their evidence muſt be taken, even when it tends to their own profit, and to the ſpoiling of thoſe who believe

† Gellius.
‖ Horace.
* Valeri. s Max.
† St. Hier.
‖ Petreius Chartr.
* *Attempts of the Popes of this preſent Age upon Kings.*

lieve them. I could yet produce a later example, which is that of the preſent Pope, who with unſufferable raſhneſs lately threatened to Excommunicate the Greateſt King upon Earth, becauſe he would Reign alone in his own State, and take away from ſome people who ought to employ themſelves only in ſerving God, the diſpoſal of ſome Benefices which belong properly to the Soveraign of a State, who we ſee makes a more judicious choice of men fit to ſerve in theſe Employs, becauſe he doth not ſell them, nor give them to his Relations, as they did, who had but very little regard to the merit of thoſe upon whom they conferred theſe things. Beſides, of right, the Popes have nothing to do in the Dominions of other Princes; and there have been ſufficient proofs given by this Great Prince of his zeal for Juſtice, and for Religion. But theſe men love to make people feel their yoke, and it may be well ſaid of them, what *Mithridates* ſaid of the ancient *Romans*, that it was not their love to Juſtice that made them fight againſt Princes, but the deſire of their Authority, and of their Greatneſs, † *Non delicia Regum illos, ſed vires ac Majeſtatem inſequi.* It is well known how ill they have treated *Spain* not long ſince, upon the account of the Preſident of *Caſtile*, who had reaſon in what he did, and how at this time they handle the *Venetians*. Don't we know how *Alexander* the Seventh, and his Nephews, behaved themſelves at *Rome* towards our King, in the perſon of his Ambaſſador the Duke of *Crequi*? We may remember how that under *Henry* the Fourth they wanted but very little to have utterly ruined *France*, and to have made the *French* all ſubject to the *Spaniards*; and if the Parliament at *Paris* had not been better Chriſtians than the Pope, what would have become of the Poſterity of *Henry* the Fourth? For *Sixtus Quintus*, whoſe firſt Employ was to be a Keeper of Swine, having gotten to be Pope, grew ſo inſolent as to Excommunicate King *Henry* the Fourth, and to declare him uncapable to ſucceed to the Crown; but the Parliament nulled his Holineſs his Bull, which broke the deſign for that time. † *Mezeray* mentions the Bull, which deſerves reading. There are theſe words, *That the Authority given to Saint* Peter, *and to his Succeſſors, by the infinite power of the Eternal God is greatly above all powers of Earthly Kings, that it belongs to them to make Laws be obſerved, and to chaſtiſe thoſe who oppoſe them, to overturn their Seats, and to tumble them down to the ground as the Miniſters*

† Tit. Liv.

† *Mezeray* in the Life of King *Henry* the Third, pag. 367.

ſters of Satan. He adds afterwards, *That by the Indiſpenceable Duty of his Office, he is conſtrained to draw the Sword of Vengeance againſt* Henry *the late King of* Navarre, *and againſt* Henry *Prince of* Conde, *the ſpurious and deteſtable off-ſpring of the Illuſtrious Houſe of* Bourbon. *Wherefore being in this lofty See, and in the full power which the King of Kings, and the Lord of Monarchs hath given him, he doth declare them Hereticks*, &c.

Thus alſo did Pope *Julius* the Second Out the Grandfather of King *Henry* the Fourth of his Kingdom of *Navarre*, and made it fall to the *Spaniards*. O miſerable and deteſtable Creatures, thus to abuſe the ſimplicity and credulity of men, as to dare by a Diabolical pride to attribute to themſelves an Authority which belongs only to God, and which Jeſus Chriſt himſelf never exerciſed whileſt he was upon Earth.

It is ſaid in the Goſpel, that *Michael* the Archangel diſputing with the Devil, would not bring any railing accuſation againſt him, but was content to ſay to him only, *The Lord rebuke thee*; becauſe he looked upon God as him to whom judgment and vengeance belonged. And yet we ſee that the Sons of *Adam* are bold and deſperate enough, not only to condemn, but to deſtroy Dignities, which they ought to Reverence, and to ruin them, together with whole States, as their fancy leads them; and that men give themſelves over to theſe Impieties, which is unconceivable; There muſt be in it an Enchantment not to be comprehended. By this you may ſee what judgment we ought to make of the Harangue which Cardinal *Perron* made in behalf of the *French* Clergy, in the Aſſembly of the States at *Paris*, Anno 1616, he maintained that the Pope could Excommunicate and Depoſe Kings, and make them be Aſſaſſinated, and that not to believe it, was as much as to ſay, that the Popes who had long enjoyed theſe Rights were Antichriſt. And that for his part, and for his Brethren, they would voluntarily ſuffer Martyrdom in defence of this Holy Doctrine. He deſired to have his name inſerted in the Martyrology of *Garnet*, and of *Ravilliac*, and to go to the ſame Paradiſe. *Ite truces animæ & letho Tartara veſtro poluite, & totas erebi conſumite pœnas.* This ſtroke of Cardinal *Perron*, confirms abſolutely what *Sancy* ſays of him, that he did not believe in God; and that judgment ought we to make of him.

By

it. By all these Examples then we see that Princes, especially Kings of *France*, ought never to trust any Pope whatsoever; and that the Popes can never be the Mediators of those Differences which are between them and other Princes.

* The Advocates for the Papacy do alledg also, that 'tis a great advantage that the Popes draw Revenues out of Catholick Countries, because they make a good use of them, and with this Mony they assist the Catholick Princes against the Turk, and employ it to many other good uses. For Example, They say, that the present Pope hath this Year given a great deal of Corn to the poor People at *Rome*, and Portions to marry off several poor young Maids. But what doth this signify, to prove that the Popes are universal Vicars of Jesus Christ upon Earth, and Heads of the Catholick Church? I do not say, that to be Pope, a Man must lay aside all Humanity, and become a Devil; that Opinion suits only with those who believe the Pope to be Antichrist. † *Cicero* tells us, that even those *who live only by their Crimes, cannot live without some exercise of Justice.* It is a wonderful thing that the greatest part of the World, with the great Veneration which they have for the very Name of Popes, should be so ridiculously favourable to them, as to admire them for very common Actions, when they ought always to surpass the most perfect Christians in Charity, in greatness of Mind, and in contempt of the great things of this World, if it be true that they are the Vicars of Jesus Christ, and Successors of St. *Peter*; but to see how these People are extolled for the little Good they sometimes do, you would think they had a Dispensation from doing any good Actions. It is like those who commend the great Vertue of a Woman that does not prostitute her self to all the World, you would say that she might be dishoneſt for all that, and that for this there is no such great Commendation due to her: just so do People magnify the Pope, because they say he will give five hundred thousand *Livers* a Year to defend *Poland* against the Turks. But first of all, there is his own Interest in the case; for the Popes look upon themselves as chief Kings of *Poland*, as well as of other Catholick Kingdoms, and they think they lose so much Land and so many Subjects as the Turks gain from the Catholicks; but what is such a Sum as this to a Priest whose Revenue amounts to twenty Millions; how doth he employ the rest of the Churches Blood? I dare be bold to say he doth every Year plunder *Poland* of more than this Sum. But now in a time that People begin a little to know the Papacy, we must not wonder they endeavour by some

* *The use the Popes make of their Tributes.*

† Cicero *l.* 2. de Officiis.

good AAions to keep it from Contempt. As for the Corn which they give at *Rome* to the Poor, what a great matter that is? It is but juſt, that ſince the Papacy hath made them idle and lazy, it ſhould maintain them. Was there ever yet a Tyrant who did not do ſome good? I do not inveigh againſt the Perſon of the preſent Pope, who, of all the Popes that have been in Poſſeſſion of this See ſince *Boniface* the Third, is certainly one of the leaſt wicked. It is the Papacy only which I oppoſe, that extravagant Authority which they make Men to adore, that never yet did any thing but Miſchief; and I make a diſtinction quite contrary to that which ignorant People make of it, who ſay, that the Popes as Men, may be wicked, but not as Popes; for I maintain that as Popes, ſince *Boniface* the Third, they have never done any thing but ill; but as Men, they may ſometimes do Actions that are morally good. If the Popes did their Duty as true Biſhops, if they preached the word of God, if they inſtructed their Dioceſs in the knowledg of God, if they applied themſelves to their Prayers, without being ambitious, without deſiring Command and Authority, and playing the Princes at *Rome*, without abuſing the World with their Diſpenſations, Indulgences, falſe Reliques, *Agnus Dei's*, and other Fooleries; without drawing of Annates, giving of Bulls, and comparing themſelves to Kings and Princes: If, I ſay, they behaved themſelves like the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*, I ſhould honour and admire them, as a Souldier ſaid heretofore to *Nero*, I loved thee * *dum amari meruiſti*; *ſed poſtquam Parricida, Hiſtrio, incendiarius extitiſti*, &c. whilſt thou didſt deſerve it, but ſince thou wert a Parricide, a Stage-player, and deſtroyer of thy Country, I have abhorred thee.

* Tacitus.

† *Miſſions.* † They ſay furthermore, that were it not for the Pope, there would be no Miſſions to the *Indies*, and that thoſe People would never be converted. On the contrary, by the Ambition, Pride, and carnal Pleaſures which they keep up in the Church, Zeal and Charity are almoſt wholly extinguiſhed. But what do the Popes do for theſe Miſſions? If they contribute any thing towards them, it muſt be, as in all other things, for their own Intereſt. But there were Miſſions to the *Indies* before ever the Biſhops of *Rome* undertook to govern the Church: thoſe who are now ſent thither go only for Gain and Traffick; and by the Relations we have of them, they are the ſtrangeſt Converſions in the World; they take no care at all to inſtruct theſe poor People, nor to teach them any thing, they baptize them only, without explaining to them the Virtue of that Sacrament, or what it ſignifies; nay without turning them from their former Idolatry.

latry. They are contented instead of instructing them, to tell them that in worshipping their Idols, and doing all as they did before, it is sufficient if they direct the Intention to Jesus Christ, or to the Saints, and so they are no less Idolaters than they were before. These now are their Conversions.

* But, say they, does not the Pope create a great many Bishops *in partibus Infidelium*, in the Countries of Infidels. That may be done without the Pope; Metropolitans and Primates did heretofore create them, and Bishops may do so still. This tends to nothing but to flatter the Vanity of the Popes, who, not being able to establish themselves effectually in those Countries, will however satisfy their Fancies, by this imaginary Empire which they attribute to themselves in disposing of fantastick Bishopricks in those Countries. This is all but Farce. My Lord the new Bishop makes wry Faces, as if he were going to his pretended Dioceſs, where the People shall be Greeks, Pagans, or Mahometans, he prepares his Equipage to be gone, and whilst he is just ready to depart, his Holiness hath a tender Affection for his dear Son, commends his Zeal and his Piety, to go to hazard himself among the Infidels, dispences with him as to his Journey, and for a recompence of his Devotion, he gives him good Pensions and Benefices, wherewith the good Prelate lives jollily at *Rome* in Pleasures and in Honours. They have by this Principle of Vanity created four Patriarchs at *Rome* to make themselves amends because they could not make the four Greek Patriarchs submit to them.

* *Bishops in partibus Infidelium.*

† There are some People also who pretend, that the necessity of a visible Head of the Christian Church is proved by this, that the Mahometans have one, and the Pagans also had one: And they say, that the Mahometans, who have a *Mufti*, and had heretofore their *Caliphes*, the Pagans their *Pontifex Maximus*, as the ancient Romans had, will have less Aversion for Christianity when they see in it a Head of Religion like their own. But there is a great deal of difference; for these never did usurp the Temporal Power of Princes like the Popes; they never exacted Oathes of Allegiance from their Clergy, nor pretended to a share of the Princes Authority, as the Popes do in Catholick Countries. The Ambition of the Popes will ever keep them back more than this Conformity will induce them to embrace Christianity. But Men must not form to themselves such carnal Ideas of the Religion of Jesus Christ, who is all Spirit, Truth, and Holiness; it is a sort of Idolatry to believe that Jesus Christ hath such

† *Pagans and Mahometans also have a Head of Religion.*

Vicars. It is to be wholly ignorant of God, and to make Jesus Christ the Minister of Sin.

It may be yet said, that the Popes keep Princes and great Men in the Catholick Religion by the conveniency of *Dispensations*, which they many times gives them very opportunely, and such as they could not find in other Religions; * as Cardinal *Palavicini* maintains, that if the Pope did not give these Dispensations to those who possess and change many Benefices, they who enjoyed them would offend God, and be uneasy in their Consciences, and that it is because that God should not be offended that the Popes have found out the Secret of Dispensations. But these Dispensations are either against the Law of God, or they are not: If they are, then Princes are so much the more to be blamed to address themselves to the Pope; for this is manifestly to mock both God and Men. I know very well, as I have already observed, that there are some good People who maintain, that the Popes can make that a Sin which is not a Sin, and that not a Sin which is a Sin; but I do not think that any Prince was ever so simple as to believe so; thus the Action of a Prince who hath recourse to the Popes for Dispensations authorizeth this abominable Impiety, and by his Example, makes it pass for an Article of Faith, making himself the shameful Instrument to establish the most pernicious and the most infamous of all Impostures. If the thing be not contrary to the Law of God, there is no need of a Dispensation for any whatsoever. And furthermore, be they necessary or unnecessary, the meanest Bishop hath as much right to grant them as the Pope, nay more, since that, as I have already said, the Popes being Temporal Princes can not be in the Christian Religion either Bishops or Priests; they have forfeited this Character, and have no calling under God, since God hath not instituted this monstrous Authority. Besides, these Dispensations are only for the Popes advantage; for by them he raiseth and maintains himself in Credit, not only other above Bishops his fellow Brethren, but even above God himself, abrogating his Laws, and fastning Princes with his whole Families indispensably more and more to their Service, it being their Interest to maintain this pretended Authority of the Pope, without which, their Actions would appear shameful and scandalous; and as many times it is for their Marriages which they are dispensed with, their Children would be illegimate, which would confound the order of the Succession. Thus does every thing turn to the Popes advantage, who are always of his opinion, who said in *Epictetus* † ὅπου γὰρ συμφέρον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸ εὐσεβὲς,

* Palavicin. *lib.* 19. *c.* 6. *lib.* 23. *c.* 8.

† Epictetus, *cap.* 38.

ever, is, that where Profit is there is Piety. * *Omnia retinendæ Dominationis causâ honesta.* They do not only give Dispensations to Princes which are many times very unjust, but they also give them to every Body for Mony, which makes Heretieks abhor the Catholick Religion, who in this have much more respect for the Law of God, never practising any thing like this, and if there be amongst them a Licentious Person, who hath some great Affair to compass, he must become a Catholick; then making his Addresses with a good grace to the Pope, his business is done: this is not *Simony*, because that which he obtains is *in premio del denaro donato a Dio*, a Reward for the Money which he hath given to God, as † Cardinal *Palavicini* says, * He also makes them give Mony as a Punishment for their Sins as the same Jesuit says in another place. How could Men arrive to such Excesses of Impiety, as to suffer such things as these? A *Pagan* heretofore said, that *Maxima* † *fortuna minima licentia est*, that they ought to give themselves the least liberty who are Masters of the greatest Fortunes. Our Popes on the contrary, believe that they may do any thing, because that every thing is subject to them, which boldness the long continuance of their Empire hath caused ‖ *Vetustate Imperii coalita audacia*, and as they found that the People easily swallowed down their Impostures, they by degrees invented more enormous ones. When People have once passed some certain Bounds, they have afterwards no shame left them; *neque metus ultra, neque pudor est.* But it is a strange thing that no body opposes such horrible things, that they are suffered to be done in the Church, and in the Name of God too, which the whole World ought to acknowledg to be Holiness it self: Every body hath seen it, doth yet see it, says nothing of it, but by silence approves, nay applaudes it. I believe for my part, that People please themselves with fancying that God is like the Popes, and that they may come off easily with him in their Affairs. That which is as bad too as all the rest is, that proportionably other Ecclesiasticks, at least many of them, do attribute to themselves some part of this Authority of the Popes, of dispencing against the Law of God, and that after the Popes Example, who have infected all the others. * *Sicut Grex totus in agris, unius scabie cadit.* This it is which hath produced those fine Morals which reign so much in the World, and have done so much Mischief. They will rather dispence with some great Crime against the Law of God and Nature, than with an indifferent thing, against which either they or their Predecessors have made some rash Decree; for by either

* Tacitus.

† Palavicini, *lib.* 1. *cap* 2.

* *Idem.*

† Salust.

‖ Tacitus.

Tacitus.

* Horace.

of

of them, they raiſe their Almighty Power above Heaven it ſelf. In the firſt they raiſe themſelves above God, by diſpencing with the Obedience to his Law, and by the other, they make that a Sin which is not ſo in its own nature, which belongs only to God; and ſo they put themſelves in his place. What Reaſon is there (for Example) in what Pope *Innocent* the Third eſtabliſhed, * that a Monk *may be diſpenced with for keeping many Concubines, but not for being twice married?* upon which the Gloſſary makes this juſt Obſervation, *Notandum mirabile quòd plus valet hic luxuria quam Caſtitas.* What reaſon is there that at *Rome* the beſt Benefices are diſpoſed of in favour of wicked Wretches, Atheiſts, Poiſoners, and Sodomites, Fellows that are known to be ſuch, and not to one only, but a great number of them; and that in *France* ſuch Benefices as thoſe cannot be poſſeſſed by a Prince and natural Son of a great King? I am not ignorant that there are ſome Canons which are againſt it; but why ſhall People obſerve ſo ſcrupulouſly a Canon of a Council upon a thing almoſt indifferent, whilſt that the Popes do every day violate many Canons of the moſt Sacred Councils, in things that are Eſſential, and even in this very Point; for there is no body who knows *Italy* or *Spain*, but muſt acknowledg that there are a great many, who, not only poſſeſs Benefices, but Prieſts and Biſhops who are Baſtards, born even of double Adultery, begotten by Prieſts upon married Women. I do affirm, that I have my ſelf known more than four of them; and even in *France*, our own Country, which is a very religious place, in compariſon of *Italy* or *Spain*, who is there but knows that there are People of this ſort in Poſſeſſion of Benefices? † The Roman Divines maintain, that a Prieſt is not irregular for Adultery and Sodomy, yet it would be irregular to let a Prince enjoy Benefices, becauſe his Father did not beget him by his lawful Wife. ‖ See in *Navarre* the great Canoniſt, he ſhall tell you that Sodomy cauſeth no irregularity in a Prieſt, but that Marriage does, becauſe Pope *Innocent* the Third hath ſo eſtabliſhed. After he hath ſpoken of thoſe caſes which cauſes Irregularity, he asks the Queſtion, whether Sodomy be one or no. *Dubitarùnt an voluerimus etiam nefandum Sodomiæ crimen comprehendere; ſequitur reſpondendum eſſe, non comprehendi, primo quia irregularitas niſi ob caſus jure expreſſos non incurritur, ſecundo quia verba illa ſunt Innocentii. Facit etiam quòd nos intelleximus quòd in Italiâ ubi, ut fertur, plus hoc malo laboratur, quam oporteret, nullæ de eo Diſpenſationes quarumtur.* He concludes that Sodomy makes not a Prieſt irregular. * And the Cardinal *Tolet* does main-

* Innocent extra. de Bigamis tit. 22. c. quia circa.

† *Horrible Maxims of Italian Divines concerning Sodomy in a Prieſt.*

‖ Navar. queſt. 2. de defenſione proximi.

* *Tolet.* cap. 61. lib. 1. de inſtitutione Presbyt.

maintain it to be the common Doctrine of the Divines at *Rome*, that all Orders, even Prieſthood it ſelf, may be conferred upon Children, and thoſe who have not yet the uſe of Reaſon. *Omnes Ordines*, ſays he, *etiam & Presbyteratum conferri poſſe Infantibus, & nondum uſum Rationis habentibus, eſt communis Doctrina Theologorum.* We ſee clearly by this, that when in *France* theſe People refuſe to grant Benefices without Cure of Souls, upon the account of pretended Irregularities, that it is more out of Pride than Religion, and that they take pleaſure, as I have already ſaid, to make People feel their Yoke, this they call *ſuper Aſpidem & Baſiliſcum ambulare*, to tread upon Serpents and Dragons.

Thoſe who maintain the Popes Authority do moreover affirm, that we are obliged to the Popes for the Holy Tribunal of the Inquiſition, without which the true Religion would have been ſupplanted by Hereſy, in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, * Cardinal *Palavicini* does aſſure us ſo. *Il Tribunal dell' Inquiſitione, dal quale, l'Italia riconoſce la conſervata integrita della ſua fide.* It is to the Holy Tribunal of the Inquiſition that *Italy* owes the preſervation of the Integrity of the Faith. Wherein truly they do a great deal of Honour to God and to the Chriſtian Religion, to imagine that God hath no other means to preſerve his Church, and that he needs ſuch curſed Inſtruments as thoſe to maintain it. † That you may make the better judgment of it, it will not be amiſs for me to ſpeak briefly a word or two concerning the manner how this Tribunal proceeds againſt Heriticks, upon what they call the *Directory* of the Inquiſitors, made in the Year 1585. you muſt know that this Directory was made for the Execution of the Bull *de Cœnâ Domini* which is to be ſeen ‖ *in ſummâ Franciſci Tolet. de inſtructione Sacerdotum*, where there are eighteen ſorts of Excommunications; the firſt againſt Hereticks, Favourers of Hereticks, thoſe who read or keep their Books without the permiſſion of the Holy See. And under this pretence theſe Fellows have cauſed two of our Kings to be murthered. It was this rare Excommunication that ruined Religion in *England*, and it is a wonder that it does not deſtroy it every where elſe. * In his 20th Book you find that all thoſe are excommunicated, who ſay and confeſs that the Council is above the Pope, and who appeal from his Decrees to the Council, ſo that a Man cannot be a true Chriſtian, without being excommunicated by the Pope. We muſt no longer believe the Goſpel, but become the *Popes Creatures* to avoid theſe terrible Excommunications. In the 21ſt Chapter of Cardinal *Tolet* his

Collecti-

* Palav. *lib.* 14. *cap.* 19.

† *The Inquiſition.*

‖ Lib. 1.

* *Idem.*

Collection, there is a Bull which does excommunicate all Princes who lay new Taxes upon their People without the Pope's permiſſion. This was not much amiſs indeed, for by it you ſee that all Soveraign Princes are made Slaves to the holy See. A Man muſt have loſt his Senſes not to ſee that it is the Spirit of the Devil which poſſeſſeth this Generation of Vipers. In his 27*th*, 28*th*, and 29*th* Chapters, all Chancellours, Preſidents, Councellours, and Soveraign Courts of Juſtice, are excommunicated if they hinder the Clergy in any manner whatſoever to exerciſe their Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction againſt all Perſons, according to the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*, whereby they will deſtroy all Political Authority, and make the Clergy Maſters of it; for you muſt know that the Council of *Trent*, whoſe Decrees were all made at *Rome* before ever matters were propoſed at *Trent*, eſtabliſhed Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, according to the Decretals of *Boniface* the Eight: This it was that made many worthy Prelates in *France* formerly preſs ſo hard to have this Council received there; and that wicked Wretch *Miron* Archbiſhop of *Angiers*, write ſo inſolently againſt the Parliament, for which he very well deſerved to be hanged. At length having thundred out a great many other Excommunications, they declare, that whoſoever ſhall remain a whole Year in theſe ſorts of Excommunications, ſhall for their Contumacy be declared Hereticks. Chap. *Cum Contumacia de Hereticis in 6.* and it is a favour too that they do not turn them into Hobgoblins. There is nothing in all this but what is ſottiſh, horrible, and diabolical, yet there are People who at this day dare not publickly deteſt it. Nay, there are ſeveral in *France*, who ſhall maintain it at their utmoſt peril, and even die for it, as almoſt all the Monks and many others who for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt himſelf would not loſe this Point. Hitherto this Tribunal of the Inquiſition hath been abhorred in *France*, but no thanks to the Monks, but the Parliaments; they ſay, *Eccleſia mavult ſuffundere ſanguinem quam effundere.* And during the Minority of *Lewis* the thirteenth all the Chairs of the Doctors and Preachers rung with this impious and abominable Doctrine, that the Pope was the Monarch of the Church could excommunicate, depoſe and put Kings to death. And to the end that theſe Holy Laws ſhould be put in Execution, theſe infamous Creatures have wrote a Book, which they call the *Directory* of the Inquiſitors in the the Year 1585. wherein they eſtabliſh, that they are all impious Perſons, and Enemies to the Church, who do not allow of the *Extravagants* of *Boniface*, and all the Decretals of the Popes who declare, that the Church hath the

Idem.

Power

Power of both Swords to deſtroy all thoſe who will not ſubmit to it. In the third part of this Directory, Commentary the thirteenth, there are three methods of proceeding againſt Hereticks, *viz.* by Accuſation, by Delation, and by Inquiſition. In Matters of Faith, Accuſation is not allowed of, becauſe they ſay that it is very dangerous, and full of Contention; the Crime of Hereſy muſt be proved Judicially, and Canonically, which cannot be done without ſome difficulty; ſo that the Treaſurer of the Inquiſition becomes the Accuſer, for this reaſon, *quia non eſt obnoxius pœnæ talionis*, becauſe he is not obnoxious to the Puniſhment of Retaliation, *neque aliis pœnis quas falſi Accuſatores pati ſolent*, nor to any other Puniſhments which falſe Witneſſes are wont to ſuffer. So that there is no other way but by Delation and Inquiſition; and let a Man but apply himſelf to the Syndic of the Inquiſition, or to the Inquiſitor to accuſe any body and there's an end of him. In this third part of the Directory, Commentary the 28*th*, towards the latter end there are theſe words; *In crimine Hereſeos propter ejus Enormitatem omnia teſtimonia recipiuntur, omniumq; voces & interpretationes audiuntur, etiam & inimicorum hominum, perjurorum, lenonum, meretricum, & infamium: In caſe of Hereſy, by reaſon of the Enormity of the Crime, all Evidences are allowed of, and the Word and Accuſation of all ſorts of People are to be heard, even of Enemies, thoſe that are perjured, Pimps, Whores, and thoſe of the worſt Reputation.* And that which is as good as this, is, that two Witneſſes of this ſort are ſufficient, even againſt a King, and without being obliged to let him know who the Witneſſes are. See Commentary the 23, 48, 120, 124. there are theſe words; *Quod ſi reus inſtaret poſtularetq; ut ſibi concederetur defenſio ſecundum Juris Ordinem, & per conſequens ut Teſtium nomina ſimul cum dictis eorundem ſibi ederentur, audiendus non eſſet; & ſi fortaſſis ob id gravari ſe diceret, & appellaret, talis appellatio non eſſet admittenda, ſed eâ non obſtante imo vero eâ rejectâ tanquam frivolâ & injuſtâ ad ulteriora Judicii acta eſt intrepidè procedendum; That if any guilty Perſon doth inſiſt upon, and require liberty to make a Defence, according to the ordinary courſe of Law, and by conſequence, that the Names of the Witneſſes, together with their Depoſitions, ſhould be delivered him, he is not to be heard; And if, for this reaſon, he ſhall ſay that he is hardly dealt with, and ſhall appeal, ſuch his Appeal is in no wiſe to be allowed, but that notwithſtanding, nay, it being wholly rejected as frivolous and unjuſt, he is vigorouſly to be proceeded againſt, even to the utmoſt Acts of Judgment.* And the good natur'd Inquiſitors give this Con-

ſolation to People that are condemned; *Nec quiſquam dicat ſe injuſtè hâc ratione condemnari, nec conqueratur de judicibus Eccleſiaſticis, vel de judicio Eccleſiæ ita ſtatuentis: Nor let any Man ſay that he is condemned unjuſtly upon this account, nor complain of the Eccleſiaſtical Judges, or of the Church ſo ordaining:* (Theſe Hangmen will make the Church acceſſary to their Barbarities.) *Sed ſi injuſtè condemnatus ſit, gaudeat potiùs quòd pro veritate mortem patiatur; but if he be unjuſtly condemned, let him rejoyce rather that he ſuffers Death for the Truth.* What could the Devil do worſe if he were incarnate? Yet this is the Churches Head, the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, the Holy See, the Apoſtolick See, it is his Holineſs who hath made and decreed theſe things. They do yet worſe than this to Kings and Princes, for they make uſe of ſecret means, for fear they ſhould get notice of them, and by their Power prevent their wicked Deſigns. They employ ignorant Creatures that are loaden with Iniquity, ſuch as *Ravilliac*, who was a Murtherer by Profeſſion, and a Sorcerer too, as was commonly ſaid, they give theſe People Abſolution from all their Crimes, and promiſe them Paradiſe if they periſh in the Execution, or, if they are taken, after it. They have for ſuch purpoſes as theſe in *Italy*, thoſe whom they call *Croceſegnati*, and in *Spain los Familiares*. * See in the Book of *Francis Suarez* the *Spaniard*, called *Defenſio fidei Catholicæ*. By the way, we are very much obliged to this Loyal Loyoliſt, for calling theſe Maxims the Catholick Faith. If what he ſaid were true, it would be no great advantage to be a Catholick. It would be perfect Manicheiſme, a Man muſt believe two contrary Principles, good and bad, God and the Devil, at the ſame time. There is a certain Author, called *Guliel. Nubrigenſis*, who relates the Story of a Monk, who dethroned his natural Prince and ſat himſelf in his place, he had engraved upon his Seal, *Ferus ut Leo, mitis ut Agnus.* This Monk was Villain enough, thus to uſurp the Authority of his Prince; but he was a thouſand times better than any of theſe Thieves at *Rome*. For my part, I will all my Life-time hold Communion with the Catholick Gallican Church; but for the Bull *de Cœnâ Domini*, the Inquiſition, the Superiority of the Pope above the Council, and the Morals now in faſhion, I declare I do deteſt it as a thing dangerous to Salvation, to hold Communion with them who believe and maintain theſe things, and that I believe them as far from being ſaved as the Mahometans.

* *Suarez*, in def. fid. Cath. l. 4. l. 6. n. 17.

Who can believe that Jeſus Chriſt, who gave himſelf for the Salvation of us all, and who is all Charity it ſelf, can approve of it, that People

People ſhould be put to death for Religion; or, that he does not deteſt the Barbarities which theſe Monſters exerciſe under the Name of Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt? How contrary are theſe Practices to thoſe of Jeſus Chriſt and of his Apoſtles? See after what manner our merciful Saviour ſpoke to his Apoſtles, who would have forſaken him, *What, and will you alſo leave me?* upon which St. *Chryſoſtom* makes this Reflection, * ἐρωτᾷ λέγων μὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς θέλετε ὑπολιπεῖν, ὁ παρὰ πᾶσαν ἦν ἀφαιρῶν βίαν καὶ ἀνάγκην. *He asks them, ſaying, Will ye alſo go away? which was the voice of one taking away all force and compulſion.*

And in truth they did all abandon him; yet after his Reſurrection he received them as kindly as tho they had followed him to the very Croſs; and we ſee that when he gave his Apoſtles the Power of the Keys, he ordered them only to teach Men, and not to compel them by force; and on that occaſion, when the Apoſtles were diſcontented with the *Samaritans*, and would have called down Fire from Heaven upon them, he ſays to them, *Ye know not what Spirit ye are of: the Son of Man is not come to deſtroy Mens Lives, but to ſave them.* But the Popes, who make a quite contrary uſe of this Power, are come to deſtroy both Souls and Bodies too. We ſee that the Apoſtle St. *Paul* followed theſe holy Rules of Charity when he wrote to *Titus*; teaching him the Duty of a Biſhop, he ſays to him only, *A Man that is an Heretick, after the firſt and ſecond Admonition, reject.* He ſays not, *do him Injuſtice, kill him, ruin him by Violence, or by Craft, break your word with him*, according to the Maxims and Practices of the Court of *Rome*. * According to theſe Principles, St. *Chryſoſtom* ſays theſe words; *Apud nos non cogendo ſed ſuadendo id agendum eſt ut qui malus eſt melior evadat, neq; enim ad coercendos peccatores Poteſtatis jus nobis datum eſt; & ſi datum maximè eſſet, locus non eſſet juris iſtius exercendi, cum Deus coronet non eos qui neceſſitate, ſed qui voluntate liberâ à malo abſtinent: We muſt not endeavour to make a bad Man better by Force, but by Perſwaſion: For we have no Authority to compel Sinners; and if we had, we ought not to make uſe of it, ſeeing God crowns not thoſe that abſtain from Evil out of meer neceſſity, but thoſe that do it out of free choice.* And hence it comes that St. *Hierom*, comparing a King to a Biſhop, ſays, *Ille nolentibus præeſt, hic volentibus.* The one rules over thoſe that are unwilling, the other over thoſe that are willing. And *Gregory* Biſhop of *Rome*, writing to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, ſays to him, *Nova eſt & inaudita iſta prædicatio quæ verberibus exigit fidem: That is a new and*

* *Chryſoſt.* l. 1. de Sacerdote.

unheard-of ſort of Preaching that requires Faith with Blows. The Fathers abhorred not only that Men ſhould be put to death, but that any Injuſtice ſhould be done to them upon the account of Religion; for to make this uſe of Religion is to betray it, and it is a ſure means to make Hereticks more obdurate: for it is certain, that they who do thus, have only the Name of Chriſtians; and People readily believe that a Religion is nothing worth which they are forced to embrace by ſuch ways as theſe. St. *Athanaſius* ſpeaking of the Religion of the *Arrians*, who perſecuted the Catholicks, driving them out of all Employs, depriving them of the means of getting their Living, prohibiting them the Exerciſe of their Religion, and doing them many other Wrongs by Violence and Fraud, and by groundleſs Accuſations, even to the bringing ſome of them to Death, ſays very well; *Atq; ſeipſum quàm non ſit Pia, nec Dei cultrix manifeſtat: and ſhews it ſelf how it is neither pious, nor worſhipping God.* The ſame thing may be ſaid of the Engliſh at preſent. * St. *Chryſoſtome* alſo ſays, *Errantis pœna eſt doceri; the Puniſhment of the erroneous is to be inſtructed.* The Emperour *Antoninus*, tho a Pagan, was much more a Chriſtian than the Popes, and their Inquiſition, when in his 9*th* Book he ſays; *Si potes meliora doce, ſi non potes, memento hoc tibi lenitatem datam. Ipſi Dii lenes ſunt talibus: If thou canſt, teach me better; if not, remember Gentleneſs was given thee for this very purpoſe. The Gods themſelves are gentle to ſuch.* If the Chriſtian Religion did eſtabliſh the Inquiſition, if ſhe juſtified the Perfidiouſneſs and Inhumanities which the Court of *Rome* and Hereticks commit every day upon the account of Religion, I ſhould make no difficulty to declare it an abominable Religion, and that we ought not to be of it one moment longer: and if People went to Heaven by ſuch ways as theſe, I ſhould be ſoon of the *Americans* mind, who ſaid they would not go to the ſame Paradiſe whither the *Spaniards* went; nor would I go to the Paradiſe of the Popes and the Inquiſitors. I do maintain that the Popes have ruined the Church in thoſe Countries where their Inquiſition hath been ſet up, more than all the Hereſies in the World together ever could have done. We need not but conſider the good Effects which it hath had in thoſe Countries, where in truth there is no Religion, at leaſt Chriſtianity ſcarce there to be found; and how ſhould it with that Ignorance which the Inquiſition brings along with it, which hath produced nothing but Superſtition, Impiety, Hypocriſy, diſſembling of Opinions, a thouſand Cruelties and Treacheries, and all ſorts of abominable Vices, which are ſcarce known but in Countries of the Inquiſi-

* St. *Chryſoſt.* to the *Epheſians*, 4. 17.

Inquiſition? And where we find them in other Countries, they have been brought thither from *Rome* by thoſe that were devoted to the Papacy, through the too great Commerce which Princes ſuffer with *Rome*. The Hereticks may well ſay that they are obliged to the Inquiſition that *Holland* is no longer Catholick. If the Inquiſition be advantagious to Chriſtianity, Why do the moſt Chriſtian Nations of *Europe* the beſt regulated both in their Religion and their Manners, deteſt it? Compare the *French* Nation, *Germany*, *Flanders* and *Poland*, with the other, Slaves to the Inquiſition, and you will ſay that the latter are not worthy of the Name of Chriſtians in compariſon of the former. And for the Hereticks, I eſteem an Heretick that is an honeſt Man, and that fears God, a hundred times more than a Catholick who lives diſorderly, or that knows not what Religion is. I know no worſe Hereſy than to be without the knowledg of God; and how can He be known where the Holy Scripture is not allowed to be read, where the Clergy are wholly loſt in moſt abominable Vices, and know nothing at all? where it is Crime enough to be burnt, to diſcourſe about Religion? where Mens Minds are filled with a thouſand Fooleries that have no relation at all to Piety? Set a *Spaniard* or an *Italian*, who hath gotten a little Senſe, to diſcourſe on Jeſus Chriſt, and he ſhall not fail to tell you, that Jeſus Chriſt was a great Politician; *Chriſto era Grande Politico*, becauſe he ſees that his Vicar under the pretence of Religion hath made ſo great Conqueſts, and ſubdued all Catholick Princes to himſelf. This is the Idea which they have of Jeſus Chriſt, and which they form to themſelves upon what they ſee in the Court of *Rome*, and in the preſent State of the Church; for, as for the Holy Scripture they know leſs of it than of the Alcoran. And their Divines teach them, that the Church is the moſt happy Body Politick upon Earth, *Corpo Politico il piu felice che ſia in terra*, as Cardinal *Palavicini* ſays *. And the ſame Cardinal ſays in another place, that Jeſus Chriſt would have his Church governed, as great Polititians govern their States, and that he came down from Heaven upon Earth to make her happy as well in this World as in the other, by heaping upon her Honours, Riches, and Pleaſures, † *ſecondo la carne*, according to the Fleſh. And of the Papacy in particular, he ſays, that it is the abundant Source of Temporal Felicity. *Il Principiato Apoſtolico fonte d'utilita Temporale ſecondo la carne in quel modo chi e piu conforme etiandio all' humana felicita*: ‖ *The Apoſtolick Primacy is the Fountain of Temporal Profit, and in ſuch a manner as is moſt conducing to Human Felicity.*

* Pal. *l.* 3. *c.* 18. *of his Hiſt. of the Council of* Trent.

† *Lib.* 7. *cap.* 9.

‖ *Lib.* 23. *c.* 3. *lib.* 1. *c.* 25.

Nor

Nor do the *Portugueſes* underſtand things better; they are more than half Jews, and yet know not what either Judaiſm or Chriſtianity is. There are a great many of them who look for a ſort of a Meſſias, who by his great Conqueſts ought to make them Maſters of the World; this is one of their Kings named *Sebaſtian*, whom they have made a Saint, he was killed in the Battel of *Alcazar* going to aſſiſt one Mooriſh King againſt another, and becauſe his Body was not found after the Battel, they pretend that he is not dead, but that he roams up and down the World, and that he will return ſuddenly again to conquer all the habitable Earth, and make it ſubject to the Portugal Nation. This is the Faith of the Chriſtians in that Country, and they learn it inſenſibly of the Jews. It is not long ſince a Man might have borrowed a conſiderable Sum of Mony in *Portugal* payable at the return of St. *Sebaſtian*. That which doth produce this horrible Ignorance among theſe People is, not only that they read not the Holy Scriptures, but becauſe the Inquiſition ſuffers there no Religion but its own; for by this means, there is no body who can accuſe either the Inhumanity of the Inquiſition, or the Vices and Incapacities of the Clergy. If ſome other Sect had liberty among them, the Contradiction of this Sect would oblige them to ſtudy, and to inſtruct themſelves, which would make the Study of Divinity and other Sciences flouriſh among them; and ſeeing every Man would have as many Cenſurers of his Religion and of his Manners, as there were Men of contrary Opinions, this would make Men take care of their Behaviour; that their Lives might be more conformable to true Chriſtianity. Wickedneſs would be greatly abated, Men would be aſhamed of thoſe horrible Crimes which the *Italians* now make their diverſion; there would be much more knowledg of God, more Induſtry and Perfection in the World. I know that this is not at all agreeable to the Humour of the Popes and their Clergy, who make their Markets better by Ignorance and the Inquiſition. I know by my own Experience, and what I have heard ſay by many good People in *England*, that the expulſion of Catholicks, would deſtroy amongſt them all Devotion and Religion, becauſe they would have no Adverſaries to awaken them, and to oblige them to take care of themſelves; their Miniſters would become ignorant and debauched, and ſo proportionably the People. But, ſay they, the Inquiſition doth *prohibit all ill Books*; you muſt know too that the Word of God is of the number of theſe ill Books that are prohibited; and that there are many other Books forbidden, which have not only no ill in them, but which are very

very excellent, only because they are contrary to the Ambition of the Court of *Rome*; and that there is an infinite number of abominable ones allowed of, which are fit for nothing but to be burnt as well as their Authors. By this same Principle they have razed out of the Bookes of the Fathers those Passages which were not for their purpose.

They yet insist for the justifying of the Inquisition, That the diversity of Religion is the Cause of Civil Wars in a Nation. But what Mischief doth not the Inquisition do? All Princes, in whose Countries it is, are Slaves to it. It is true, that among them there are no Civil Wars for Religion; but it is as true, that they must absolutely depend upon the Court of *Rome*; otherwise if they pretend to examine their Orders, the Popes shall use them like Dogs. How many times hath the Republick of *Venice* been like to be destroyed by these People, only because they had a mind to keep some Liberty to themselves, and not to suffer certain Excesses of their Tyranny? And yet do they every day insult and attempt against all the Rights which God and Nature have given them.

It is furthermore said in favour of the Papacy, That the World is greatly obliged to it for all the different Orders of Monks, and of Nuns, which are a great Ornament and Advantage to the Church. It is true, that the Popes have instituted almost all of them, and that it is no fault of theirs that there are not twenty times as many, especially in the States of other Princes; for by this means they erect *Imperium in Imperio*, their own Empire in the Dominions of another, thereby gaining to themselves so many Subjects in all Catholick Countries, who are at all times ready to do any thing for their Service. Now since there is nothing in it but this, all these Institutions of so many Sects of Monks ought to be suspected by us. Besides, it is not the Popes who have inspired these People with the thoughts of retreating, and of Severity to themselves, they knew only how to apply it to their own use and service. The Inclination which these Men have to this sort of Humour and Life is well enough known; and that in all times, and in all Countries, and in all Religions, there have been great numbers of Men who have embraced this sort of Life, pretending to live more austerely, and to avoid the trouble of worldly Business, affecting to be singular in their Clothes, their Diet, whipping themselves, and other outward Mortifications of their Flesh. There were a great many of them among the Jews, especially towards the latter end, and when Religion fell most into decay; we

see

ſee by their Authors, that beſides the *Phariſees* there were the *Eſſenes*, *Doſitheens*, and other Sects of Religious Jews. There were many of them among the ancient Romans; there is in *Juvenal* an admirable deſcription of their Manners and Cuſtoms. It is of them that he ſays, *Fronti nulla Fides*, and *qui Curios ſimulant & Bacchanalia vivunt*; he repreſents them with ſhort Hair, *& ſupercilio brevior coma*, and with all he ſays, that they lived after a very licentious manner. There are alſo many of them at this day among the *Pagans*, there are great numbers of them to be found among the *Mahometans*, *Greeks*, *Neſtorians*, *Eutychians*, *Maronites*, *Abyſſins*, and *Cophties*. The Popes then have made cunning uſe of the Humour of theſe People, whom they have ſupported as far forth as they could, and even canonized them to augment their own Power, by the Credit which they gave to theſe People, who became their Creatures, and who for their parts ſerved the Pope with all the Power and Credit they had. People had them in great Veneration at *Rome*, this Veneration ſpread it ſelf every-where abroad, ſo that the World did almoſt adore them; every thing that they either ſaid or did, was as highly eſteemed, as what ever the Apoſtles themſelves had ſaid or done; and as time ſerved them when they had ſufficiently tried the Credulity and Sottiſhneſs of Mankind, they came to that exceſs of Impiety and Impudence, as to compare their Authors to our Lord Jeſus; nay, to give them the Preheminence. Read but the Life of St. *Francis*, and a Book that was printed at *Bruſſels* in the Year 1630, with this Title, *Korte beſchrijvinge van het Aerdts-broederſchap van de Koorde Saint Franciſcus*; and ſo did other Orders ſpeak as great things of their reſpective Founders. People thought they could not obtain Salvation without the Monks, they attribute particular Graces to their very Habits, which, the better to impoſe upon the World, were of an extraordinary faſhion. Nay, there was ſometimes as much imputed to them as to the Blood of Chriſt it ſelf; whoſoever took this Habit they ſaid it was as much worth to him as a ſecond Baptiſm; when any body was ſick they deſired to die in this Habit. Theſe were People who did more good than God commanded; and we ſee that all theſe Impieties are yet vented by the Monks of our own time, who pretend that they do more Good than is neceſſary for their own Salvation, and that they can impart a ſhare of their Merits, and Works of Supererogation to whomſoever they pleaſe, provided that they contribute ſomewhat towards the maintenance of the Kitchin; and for that they have found out the Invention of their Fraternities.

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The Heads of these Sects, as I have already said, were very useful to the Popes, and the Popes for their parts made them be esteemed by the People, and at length, by the Ignorance and Sloth of Princes, they exempted them from the Obedience due to their Soveraigns, to their Bishops, and to the Law of God it self, and so they acknowledg none but the Pope. By little and little, making a great noise like the blind Men at *Paris*, many of these Sects got great Estates, others loved rather to beg, like those sturdy Vagrants, who prefer a begging and a lazy Life before any other. They who have any wit among them employ themselves in writing fabulous Legends of the Life of some or other of their Order, and in compoling a great many wicked Books about Religion. They are all listed to the Pope, who pays them in Pardons, and Indulgences, and in Reliques, of which they make a good Market, in Canonizing People of their own Order, and in exempting them from the Laws of their Prince and of their Bishops, so that there is Impunity for them for all sorts of Crimes, they are only forced to go out of the Province where they committed the Disorder into another. We may look upon every Convent of Monks, as so many Garrisons which the Pope hath in all Catholick Cities to keep them under the Yoke of his Obedience; and every different Order, so many different Regiments clothed in different Fashions, and wearing different Liveries, who all live at the good Mans Expence, but cost the Pope not a Farthing, having found out many Secrets to pull off the Feathers without making the Fowl cry. They are certainly of great use to the Popes, but I demand what Good they do us? Are there not Clergy-men enough to perform the Service without them? Are there not People enough to be maintained who are really poor, without the begging Monks, who are the most ridiculous and the most vicious Wretches upon Earth? If they are necessary to the Church, as some say, how comes it to pass, that in the Primitive Church, where there was so much Piety, there were none of them? or at least very few, and they too quite of a contrary Character to those now a days; but that now in this languishing State of the Church, every place swarms with them. How comes it to pass that their numbers are much less in *France*, *Flanders*, *Germany* and *Poland*, where Christianity flourishes a thousand times more than in *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, where it is almost extinguished? For tho there be Canonizations and Beatifications oftentimes performed for People of these Countries, it signifies nothing else, but that the Pope hath finger'd their Mony, or that these Saints were in their Life-time

greatly devoted to the Holy See. This is done upon falſe accounts given of the Lives of theſe Perſons by ſome Monks of their Order, and it is very eaſy to impoſe upon People in theſe Countries, by reaſon of the extream Ignorance among them, and of the Inquiſition which would burn thoſe who ſhould dare to contradict it. In *France* where People are much more underſtanding, and where there is greater Liberty, it is not ſo eaſy to impoſe upon and delude the World. Beſides, the Proteſtants would not fail to diſcover the Cheat and to lay it open, from whence alſo it comes to paſs that there are but very few Miracles wrought in *France*, and fewer at *Paris* than in any other City in the Kingdom, becauſe People are not there ſo eaſy to be deceived. I do maintain, and every Man that hath obſerved it muſt agree with me that there is incomparably more Vertue and ſolid Piety in the honeſt People of the World than among the Monks. Converſe with them, and you ſhall find nothing but Grimace and falſe appearances of a Devotion that ſignifies nothing, a baſe Devotion that hath nothing of true Piety, applying themſelves to the outward parts of Religion, neglecting, or elſe not knowing the true form of Piety, and upon this they are puffed up with a value of themſelves, they are preſumptuous, full of Contempt one of another, ambitious, worldly and voluptuous, which we ſee in them where they have a little Liberty, as in *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*, there is nothing ſo unruly as their Behaviour, their Lives are moſt licentious, there is no Villany nor Abomination which they do not commit. In *France*, our own Country, where they are Saints in compariſon, there is no roguiſh Story of a Debauchery and Villany, but they are at one end of it. Compare them with our Fathers of the Oratory who are Seculars, and who yet trouble themſelves with Secular Affairs leſs than they, and for Knowledg, for Humility, Purity, and lofty Sentiments of Religion, there is as great a difference as can be between a worthy and a judicious Perſon, and a ſuperſtitious ſoft-pated Fellow, or rather between an honeſt Woman and a Whore. I acknowledg that here and there you may find a Man of a great worth among the Monks, but it is one among ten thouſand, and he muſt have a great deal of Strength and Courage to keep himſelf innocent in theſe places where there is ſo much Corruption. I believe that [illegible] much more difficult to obtain Salvation there, than in the World, tho to thoſe, who have not narrowly enquired into their Lives, it appears otherwiſe. They among them who are ingenious do own it, tho they are ordinarily Hypocrites and would deceive and make us believe, that they all agree that Men muſt have extraordinary meaſures of

Grace,

Grace, and would perſwade the World that they themſelves have them. The moſt unſufferable of them, as I have already ſaid, are the *Mendicants*, thoſe *Phariſees* who act wholly contrary to what St. *Paul* taught and practiſed, who would have all Chriſtians apply themſelves to labour, yet they pretend to be of a better ſort than the others. St. *Paul*, whom St. *Auguſtin* calls the firſt of all Saints, ſays in the 20*th* Chapter of the *Acts*, *ver.* 33. that he had coveted no Mans Silver, Gold, or Apparel, and that his Hands had miniſtred to his Neceſſities, and to thoſe who were with him, and makes his Glory to conſiſt in this, that he had been a charge to no Man: He, I ſay, orders all People to *labour*, and repeats what our Saviour had ſaid, that it is *better to give than to receive*. Yet our lazy Monks have at this day Maxims that are quite contrary: They had rather have nothing at all of their own, that they may eat the Bread out of poor Peoples Mouths, upon whoſe Sweat and Blood they live and grow fat. Of all the Monks that ever I yet heard of, I have a value for no Order of them but thoſe of *La Trape*, by the account the World gives of them. Firſt, they are all kept to work, they trouble not themſelves with Confeſſions, no more than the firſt Monks in the Primitive Times. They ſtudy, they haunt neither Courts nor Cities, they are not covetous of Legacies, nor do they pry into Peoples Wills, they are not Beggars, they ſell not holy things, they live frugally, upon a wholſom Diet to keep themſelves in Health, which makes their Minds more fit for the Service of God, they are not deſirous of News, nor of the Secrets of Families to make advantage by it, they read the word of God carefully, making holy things their ordinary Entertainment, and have no Commerce at all with Women. Provided that this could continue without Vanity, and without Diſcontent, it is a School of Holineſs. For the others I find, that inſtead of being advantagious to the Church, they diſhonour it, and give the Proteſtants juſt reaſon to deſpiſe us. With People that have any Underſtanding theſe Fellows Habits make ſo ſtrongly againſt them, that Men are apt to believe that there is both extravagancy and weakneſs of Mind in thoſe that wear them; theſe are marks of Diſtinction, which ſhew them not to be French Men, but that they belong to another Prince; What good do theſe ridiculous Singularities do? If this Habit be neceſſary to make a Man really better, we ought all to take it; if not, they are to be laughed at thus that dreſs up themſelves, and ſo much the more when they think they merit by it. Theſe People ought all to be reduced to one and the ſame Habit, and this ridiculous variety of diverſe Habits, and monſtrous Faſhions

ought to be taken away as well as the variety of Inſtitutions, that warrant ſome to beg and allow others to be rich, and to be continually heaping up of Wealth, and others to eat and drink till they burſt. It is reaſonable that they ſhould be well clothed and fed, but it is baſe that they ſhould beg, at leaſt if it be voluntary; and for that reaſon their number ought to be diminiſhed, and they of them that are rich ſhould keep them that are poor; let them all apply themſelves to work and to ſtudy as heretofore they did. It would be very well done abſolutely to retrench ſome of theſe Orders that are ſo chargeable to the People. Pope *Alexander* the Seventh did very well in ſuppreſſing two Orders that were as good as thoſe that are now remaining, the one was called the Order *of the Croſs*, and the other of the *Holy Ghoſt*. And in *Spain* they have done very well never to endure among them the *Capucins*. The Council of *Toledo* did heretofore ordain, that no new Religious Order ſhould be ſuffered to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, *ne nimia Religionum diverſitas gravem in Eccleſia Dei confuſionem parturiat*. There are no People that hate or deſtroy one another more than the different Orders of the *Mendicants*, becauſe they hinder one anothers Trade; and there are no People in the World that debauch the Women more than they; the Secular Prieſts are Angels in compariſon; they are in ſo good Credit and Eſteem, that they are not endured in the Court of our Kings, and they have no acceſs to it. Their Principle of blind Obedience is both fooliſh and impious, which may cauſe, and many times hath been the occaſion of horrible Diſorders in the Eſtates and Families of our Kings. It is a Principle which makes the Pope, whom their Superiors implicitly obey, Maſter of our Lives and of the State; for theſe Superiors are always as ready to inſpire the Monks with all ſorts of Opinions, how horrible ſoever they be, provided they ſerve the Pope his Deſigns; for this reaſon I have often wondered that ſome Law hath not been made in the State againſt the perfidiouſneſs of the Monks and Jeſuits, from the example of two of our [French] Kings whom they have murthered; and that it hath not been declared, that if any ſuch thing ſhall happen for time to come, all theſe People ſhould be driven out of the Kingdom: There is no other means to hinder the Court of *Rome* from doing the ſame things hereafter. The Parliament of *England* hath lately enacted ſomewhat like this to ſecure the Life of their King againſt the Monks. No Clergy-man ought to be received without ſubſcribing the Condemnation of the impious Bull *de Cœnâ Domini*, which is a bottomleſs Gulf of Impieties, Hereſies,

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and Inhumanities. And till the Monks and Jesuits shall solemnly renounce and condemn this accursed Bull, it will be no great Injustice done them, to accuse them of attempting against the Lives of Kings. If any Man did suspect me to be an *Arrian*, and I knew it, and could justify my self from such cursed Opinions, and did it not, the World would have reason to impute to me all the Consequences of this pernicious Heresy. It is well known that all the Monks, and particularly the Jesuits have by their fourth Vow obliged themselves to the Execution of this infernal Bull. It was the Monks, who, living in Idleness, corrupted and falsified many Ecclesiastical Books, they have counterfeited many other Books full of Lies, and set them out under the Names of good Authors. They are every where known for People who, by their Artifices under pretext of Religion, are the ruine of most Families, whose Substance they cunningly suck in themselves. It is they who have vilified and discredited the true Orthodox Priests, drawing the People after themselves by false appearances of Mortifications. They are good for nothing but to move Seditions, and to bring People to Disobedienee, and when ever the Interest of their Monarch the Pope, is concerned, they think the Blood of their Enemies as meritorious as that *of the Cross*.* The Humility they boast of is a very pleasant thing, when at the same time they take place of their Elders, and of People of Quality. They pretend to have renounced Vanity more strictly than the Secular Priests, and yet these Asses are called *Father*, *Father*, as heretofore the Pharisees, *Rabbi*, *Rabbi*, they cause themselves also to be stiled *Reverend Fathers*, and pretend to have Merit enough besides to obtain their own Salvation, and to impart the overplus to others. They call themselves *Father Raphaels*, *Father Cherubims*, *and Father Seraphims*, with such like Names, which are Marks of Vanity and Folly, with which there can be neither Humility nor Piety. Their Generals also manage the matter fairly, to have the same Respect shewed them in the Courts of Princes as the Ambassadours of the greatest Kings. These Gentlemen are all sworn Enemies to the Holy Scripture as well as to the Court, and they do all they can to render the reading of it suspicious, they heretofore did what they could to abolish it, because it made as much against them as the Popes. In the Year 1192. they made a new Gospel upon the Dreams of a Carmelite named *Cyrill*, this was to suppress the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and their own they called the *Eternal Gospel*, wherein they taught that God the Father reigned under the Law, God the Son under Grace, and that the Holy Ghost

was

was now going to reign by the Establishment of four Orders of *Mendicants*, and that for the future Men could not be saved but by this Gospel, that that of Jesus Christ was imperfect, and that the Sacraments were of no great use. This Gospel was preached almost all *Europe* over by the *Jacobines* and *Franciscans*, and it was very near being received in the University of *Paris*, but there remained yet some worthy Men who opposed and made it be condemned, but seeing these new Evangelists had the favour of the Holy Father, the Doctors of the University were forced to go to *Rome*, where at length they obtained that this Book should be condemned and burned, but privately, for fear of decrying the four Orders of *Mendicants*, and also that the Book of the University of *Paris* should be burned; much after the same manner as heretofore at *Bezancon* at the beginning of *Luther*'s Revolt, which drew many Towns after it, the Magistrate of *Bezancon* fearing that this Fire should reach thither, forbad all sorts of People to speak of God either Good or Evil. And there falling out lately a Dispute between some Divines of the *Sorbonne* at *Paris*, some of whom do hold with the Jesuits, that we may be saved without loving God, and others on the contrary, that we ought to love God; whereupon both the one and the other were forbidden to speak of it so that the matter yet remains undecided, whither we ought to love God or no, or whither the Gospel of the Monks, or of Jesus Christ be the true one. The Author of the Book against this new Gospel is called *William de St. Amour*, *de periculis novissimorum Temporum*: See in *Matthew Paris* *. At length the Monks had Credit enough, having procured several Bulls to be given out against the Book, to obtain one by which the Author was forbidden to set foot again in *France*, and the *Sorbonne* to receive him. *Scilicet sic Petrus facilitabat, sic Paulus ludebat.* The Court of *Rome*, as well as the Monks, was mortally grieved that this new Gospel could not pass, and had it not been for the University at *Paris*, we should in all likelihood have never known what the Gospel of Jesus Christ was, and the Monks would have been our Saviours.

* Mat. Par. in Hist. Angl. in *Hen.* 3. & in lib. de Antichrist.

I have heard say that in all the rich Convents there is a Father that keeps the Evidence-Office, whose whole Employ it is to find out good Titles when they want them, to joyn their Neighbours Field to their own, and there is no harm in that, because it is for the Church. There are some of these Orders, the *Benedictines* for example, who have their Pensioners in the Parliament at *Paris*, like the Excise-men in the Courts of *Aydes* to help them gain their Cause: From whence

whence come all the Enterprises which they daily make upon their Neighbours Goods, stripping them as often as they can of them. People of very good Credit, and who know the thing very well, have assured me, that this one Order gave more than two hundred thousand Livers a Year in Pensions to divers Officers of Parliament; judg then what Disorders that makes. I know not why the Monks have not been kept to read the Holy Scriptures, and to study Divinity and Morality, rather than so many ridiculous ways of Mortifying themselves; if they studied or worked hard, they would need no other Mortification; but they have invented whipping since they have left off working, which is the most extravagant thing in the World. The reading of a Chapter of Scripture would be much better than that; as an excellent Man said, It is not the Severities of the Body, nor the Agitations of the Mind, but the good Motions of the Heart that are meritorious, which shall be excited much sooner by Meditation of the Word of God, than by all their Follies. Wherefore I have reason to ask what the Monks are good for? The poor Orders as they are also lazy, are a burthen to the State, they of them that are rich take no care of the poor, and both the one and the other are unprofitable, nay, prejudicial both to Church and State, they ought to do quite otherwise than to plunge themselves into Idleness, so dangerous both for their Souls and Bodies, and to be so chargeable to the Kingdom that keeps them and fats them up without receiving any Service from them; they are good for none but themselves and the Popes, whose Tyranny they support; thus the Popes in maintaining them do good only to themselves, when certainly the Monks at present might easily spare the Popes. Wherefore I yet once more demand what Service the Popes do to the World?

Of the Nuns.

As for the Nuns, tho there be not by much so great Disorders amongst them as amongst the Monks, because generally they have no share at all in the Affairs of a Civil Life, yet I think I may lately say it, That Fathers and Mothers who are desirous of their Children's Salvation, ought not to send them to such Houses, and that there is more real Piety, Chastity, and Purity of Heart among Secular Women than among the Nuns, by reason of the little Liberty that is given them: All the good they can do there is by Force and by Constraint, it is a place of Slavery and of Torment. People imagine that in these Houses where they have so much time to employ in reading and instructing themselves, they ought to be very knowing, yet they are more ignorant and superstitious than Women that live abroad in the World.

World. Their Abbeſſes are ordinarily choſen for their Quality, not for their Merit, and are either covetous or extravagant, fantaſtical, without Humanity for theſe poor young Women, without Conduct, and almoſt always without Piety. I have known many of them in my time, but never ſaw any that was worthy of this Employment but *Madam de Fontevrault*, Daughter of King *Henry* the Fourth. In thoſe Houſes where the Superiours of the Nuns are Elective or Triennial, there are continual Factions and Intrigues, that the Election may fall on her that every particular Woman likes. It would be very well that theſe Elections were aboliſhed, provided that Perſons of real worth were placed in their ſtead. The number of theſe Nuns is alſo too great as well as of the Monks, and they ought to be reduced, ſo that thoſe who remain ſhould have 200 Livers a Year for their Subſiſtance, and that the King ſhould diſpoſe of theſe places to whom he pleaſed, for the ſuccour of many Families, and the overplus of ſo many rich Convents Revenue might be employed in the building of many Hoſpitals. Nor ſhould any young Woman be admitted to take the Vail till 25 Years old, for the Tyranny of Fathers and Mothers, and the want of Conſideration in young Girls throws a great many of them into Diſpair. They ought alſo to be allowed ſometimes to go home to their Fathers and Mothers when their Health requires it, and to refreſh their Spirits which are ſometimes over-born with Grief and Vexation either by the Tyranny of their Superiours, or by their too long Confinement in this Priſon; without this a Convent is a perfect Shambles both for the Body and Soul. It muſt be acknowledged that this ſort of Religious Life is unproportionable to the weakneſs both of our Bodies and Minds, and is much leſs proper to produce true Piety than a Secular Life. Thus the Popes are ſo far from being Serviceable to Mankind, that they are matter of ſcandal to us, and ſtumbling Blocks to turn us out of the true way of Salvation. Of what uſe then are they to the World?

An *Italian* will tell me that they are ſerviceable to *Italy*, by their inriching it. But it is at the Expence of other Countries which do this Honour to *Italy*; which, having now loſt its Temporal Empire, hath by the Popes means raiſed a ſpiritual one to make amends for it; but ſtill this is at our Expence.

It is certain that all the *Italians* in general look upon themſelves as having a ſhare in the Glory of this Empire, and pretend that they have more Wit and Merit than other Nations which they have in this reſpect ſubdued, eſpecially thoſe of *Rome*, who for this reaſon give them-

themſelves the liberty of ſpeaking contemptibly of Catholick Princes, whom they look upon as their Tributaries; the very Coblers come in for their ſhare, and are mightily pleaſed that the Pope rules in all places. And I have obſerved, that they have more reſpect and value for thoſe Princes that have ſhaken off the Popiſh Yoke, as if it had been the Effect of their Courage; nay, for the very Strangers of thoſe Countries, as *Engliſh*, *Swedes*, and *Danes*. This may ſeem ſtrange; for it is well known that otherwiſe they bitterly hate theſe Nations that no longer yeild them any thing. You would ſay that they were of the Humour of *Tiberius*, who was even vexed at the abject Patience of thoſe who were moſt ſubmiſſive to his Tyranny. * *Illum qui libertatem publicam nollet*, ſays *Tacitus*, *jam abjectæ Servientium patientiæ tædebat*. But to return to our Modern *Romans*; when they hear the King of *France* called the Eldeſt Son of the Church, whereof the Pope is the Spouſe, who calls Kings his Sons, they eſteem themſelves ſo much the more by half, and ſhew an equal proportion of Diſreſpect for thoſe Kings. For my part I was diſguſted, I own it, when I heard them ſay, that all Chriſtian Kings were the Popes Children, and that the King of *France* was his Eldeſt Son; and my reſpect for Royal Majeſty did as inſenſibly diminiſh, as theirs for the Popes increaſed; nor could I ever digeſt that Abuſe to hear that ſuch a Cardinal was Protector of *France*, and ſuch a one of *Spain*, &c. What, thought I, muſt pitiful Prieſts or Biſhops, who for the moſt part are good for nothing, by the Humour of People of their own ſtamp become one day the Monarchs of Monarchs, and their Servants Protectors and Guardian Angels of the Kings and Kingdoms of the Earth, and that too againſt all Reaſon, both Divine and Human! Yet all the World ſubmits to it, as to an Eternal Truth. I know not what Protection they give, nor in what, nor againſt whom they do protect. Never was there any ſuch Folly in the World, and yet they are payed for it too.

* Tacitus.

† But let us examine a little whether the Popes are good for *Italy*, or no; the Miſchiefs they heretofore did there are notorious. It is known that the Republick of *Venice* hath been like to be deſtroyed by them, that they have oppreſſed the Liberty of the City of *Rome*; that they have uſurped and gained, by Craft and Violence, the greateſt part of thoſe States which they poſſeſs in *Italy*; that which they call the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, *Urbin Ferrara*, *Caſtro*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*, which they have made Tributary: It is known that they exact a Tribute all over *Italy* by the ſame contrivances as

† *That the Popes are hurtful to* Italy.

from all other Catholick States, that by their Inquisition they keep it in Slavery, whereby these Provinces are kept in monstrous Ignorance of Religion, and in so great corruption of Manners, that the Vices of other Nations are Vertues to them, and theirs not fit to be so much as mentioned in any other place. The *Italians* may well say what *Tacitus* said, speaking of another sort of Inquisition which reigned in his time at *Rome*; * *Scilicet illo igne vocem Pop. Rom. & libertatem Senatus & Conscientiam Generis Humani aboleri arbitrabantur; expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus atq; omni bonâ arte in exilium actâ, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profectò grande patientiæ documentum, & sicut vetus ætas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute adempto per Inquisitiones loquendi audiendiq; commercio.* This is the true Representation of the Inquisition, and of the Slavery which the *Italians* now suffer. It is clear that this modern Inquisition is taken from the Example of the wicked Roman Emperours, from whom they have also borrowed many other things. 'Twas from the *Romans* that they took this Maxim of keeping the People in Ignorance, for among them there were those who said, *de actis Deorum reverentius visum est credere, quàm scire.* Tacit. It seemed a greater piece of Reverence to believe well concerning the Actions of the Gods, than to know them. The Popes do no good even to the City of *Rome*, but have ruined it, tho they pretend that the *Romans* are obliged to them for many Contrivances which they have found out, to make the Water run to their Mills, as amongst others, the Jubilee, which is a general Fair of Pardons and Indulgences; but the Popes did this to get by it themselves: For if the People make any Profit at this Fair by the innumerable multitude of poor Christians that come there to obtain the Popes Indulgences, *qui preconan vino y venden vinagro*, that cry Wine and sell Vinegar, all that returns back into the Popes Purse and their Nephews, who drain this City by an infinity of Imposts, so that it is one of the poorest Towns in all *Italy*. The People at *Rome*, as well as the Popes, having been used to live by the Folly of other Nations, now know not how to apply themselves to work. There remains not in all this Town one spark of their ancient Generosity and Nobleness of Mind, that made them be heretofore respected more than all their Power. All the greatness of those ancient Heroes is now vanished, since the Priests became Governours. And all those Vertues which made *Rome* the Admiration of the whole Earth, have been succeeded, by Sloth, Effeminacy, Sodomy, the Art of poisoning, Treason,

* Tacit. *in vitâ Agric.*

Treaſon, and all ſorts of Artifices of Monkiſh Tricks, a baſe and knaviſh Policy, and they now reign by nothing but Vice and Debauchery. *Voluptatibus, quibus illi plus adverſus ſubjectos quam armis valent.* Hitherto we cannot find what the Popes are good for.

* There are ſome ignorant People who ſay, that the Church is obliged to the Popes for the holding of Councils, becauſe that without them there would be none aſſembled; and they inſiſt particularly upon that of *Trent*, wherein the true Catholicks were ſo well tryed and eſtabliſhed, and Hereſy oppoſed, ſo that ſince that time it hath made no progreſs. All they who have read Hiſtory a little, know that the Popes hate Councils more than the Devil does the Croſs. We have already ſeen that Cardinal *Julian* complains of the Popes that they would not call any Councils, *Ne auferat*, ſays he, *temporalitatem noſtram*, leſt they ſhould take away our Temporality. † Cardinal *Palavicini* ſays enough to confute theſe People in his Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, that the Popes ever abhorred National Councils, *Concilio Nationale ſempre aborrito da Pontefici*; and another Jeſuit ſays, that in the Myſtical Firmament of the Church, there cannot be a Conjunction of a more dangerous Influence than that of a General Council. ‖ *Nel Cielo miſtico della Chieza non ſi puo imaginar Congiunzione di piu pericoloſa influenza che un Synodo Generale.*

* *Of the Popes calling of Councils.*

† Palav. *lib.* 14. *cap.* 12.

‖ P. Diego Laines, *lib.* 16. *cap.* 10.

* Now for the Council of *Trent* in particular, all they who have read the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, know that it was ſorely againſt the Popes Will that it was called, and that they never conſented to it till the very laſt extremity, having a great while eluded the Inſtances and Remonſtrances made by the Emperor, the King of *France*, and other Princes for the aſſembling of a Council. They demanded a free Council for the Reformation of the Church, and principally of the Court of *Rome*, and to bring into the Boſom of the Church thoſe who were gone aſtray from it. The Court of *Rome* who had more reaſon to fear than hope from the good Intention that appeared in many Princes ſo deſirous of a Reformation, would not conſent to the calling a Council, till at length having without ſucceſs employed their utmoſt skill to hinder it, they at laſt managed the matter ſo that the Pope was to convene it, *Charles* the Fifth having baſely parted with the Right he had to aſſemble it; that it ſhould be called in an Italian Town, and that the Popes Legats ſhould have the management of the whole Affair; from that time there was no good to be expected from this Aſſembly. In truth the Popes Legates did rule all according to their

* *Council of Trent.*

own Fancy, almoſt all the Biſhops who aſſiſted at it were *Italians*, and the only Mark they all hit at was, more and more to eſtabliſh the almighty Power of the Pope, wherein they eaſily ſucceeded: except in this one point, God did not ſuffer Hereſy to triumph there. But as for the Popes who were the Soul and only Organ of it, ſending every Week the Holy Ghoſt in a Cloak-Bag, if the Hereſy of *Luther* would have ſerved their turn they would have choſen it. Ἡ γὰρ
Chryſoſt. Gal. 5. πρὸς ἀρέσεων μήτηρ, ἡ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία.

Nay, without all doubt, if the Mahometan Religion would have conduced to the augmenting of their Power and Riches, both they and all their Court would have embraced it preſently.

This Council hath done the Church a thouſand times more harm than good, for it hath given the Proteſtants plauſible Reaſons of Obduracy, and to us no greater aſſurance of the goodneſs of our Religion; for as they carried it, they made it a Work perfectly Humane, Intrigue and Policy did all. The Pope was there a Party, and became himſelf the Judg. The Proteſtants could not be there, ſeeing the Pope was the manager both of the Convocation and of the Suffrages, which he got for Mony diſtributed about in *Germany* and *Italy*, before the Aſſembly began: And becauſe he would be maſter, ſome good Biſhops who knew not how to manage it ſo well, *ineſperti del maneggio*, as Cardinal *Palavicini* ſays of them, offering to ſpeak againſt the Popes Intereſt, were treated many times unworthily by the Legates, who gave no ſort of Liberty. Chriſtian Princes, as the Emperour *Ferdinand*, *Charles* the Ninth, and *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*, to whom they granted not one of their juſt Demands, had no more reaſon to be ſatisfied. To convince the World that it was only the advantage of the Popes which the Court of *Rome* ſought after, and not the Glory of God, nor the Salvation of Men: It is not neceſſary to relate at large all the baſe Intrigues which were unworthy of the Legates, but only to conſider the Decree which was there made againſt the reading of the Holy Scripture. By this Decree all People were forbidden to read it without leave given them by their Ordinary, who was to allow it to none but Clergy-men; that is to ſay, to People who were in poſſeſſion of Benefices, and whoſe Intereſt it was to maintain things in the ſame condition they were in. Thus did the Legates forbid what God had commanded generally to the whole World. And as Tyrants live in continual fear, they thought themſelves not yet ſecure, but fearing that they had granted too much, they made another Decree whereby they abſolutely

ſolutely forbad all ſorts of People to read it. All their fear was, that by the comparing the Papacy with the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, People ſhould diſcover the Impoſture which they have put upon the Church, whoſe Face they have diſfigured and changed its very Nature, making the Government of the Church a piece of Knavery, and a Device to ſupplant all the Kings and Princes of the World, confounding Heaven with Earth, and deſtroying all Order both Divine and Humane. The Hereticks make a more Chriſtian Uſe of it; for tho they have been ſo inconſiderate as to reject many Books of the Old Teſtament, which are Canonical, as the *Apocrypha*; yet they do not only allow, but recommend the reading of them, and we find them bound up with their Bibles to be there read as well as the reſt. I make no doubt but that if the Legates had dared to do it, they would have ſuppreſſed the Holy Books, or at leaſt razed out, or changed all thoſe places that were againſt them, as the Inquiſition hath done by many of the Ancient Authors. How are they who are gone away from us ſcandalized at ſuch Conduct as this? What ſhame hath it not brought upon our holy Religion? they cannot look upon us without abhorrence, becauſe we ſuffer ſuch Abominations. *Expediret ut ſuſpenderentur molæ aſinariæ in collis eorum, ut non ſcandalizarent puſillos iſtos. It were expedient that Mill-ſtones were hanged about their Necks, that they might not ſcandalize theſe little ones.* This Example alone proves ſufficiently, that it was a profane and worldly Spirit that reigned in this Council: It was the ſame Spirit that made them give a Ball at *Trent* to *Philip* the Second, where it may be ſaid, * that the Pope alſo danced in the Perſons of his venerable Legates. It was alſo the ſame Spirit that made them give up Religion wholly to the Popes Fancy, which is evident by this, becauſe that having made many Decrees, they ſay that they ſhall be of force without prejudice to the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, that is to ſay, that they ſhall have place no farther than the Pope himſelf pleaſeth, whereby they make the Council ſubject to the Pope, which is a deviliſh Hereſy, condemned by the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*. The Popes did in effect get by this Council as well as by the others diſpencing both with them, and themſelves when they pleaſed; as *Palavicini* ſays, that if the Pope ſhould be bound to obſerve Laws, the Fountain of his Beneficence would be half drawn dry. † *Se'l Papo vuol oſſervare quelle leggi, il fonte della ſua Beneficenza aſciugarſi per meta.* He ſays in another place, that the Council would not bind his hands, who was able to do all things.

* Palav. *lib.* 11. *cap.* 13.

† Introduct. *cap.* 11.

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This Worldly Spirit is yet farther to be discerned by the Ambiguity which they have affected in many places, which shews us that they had oftentimes no other design than to throw Dust in our Eyes; they have also forbidden that any body should pretend to interpret, reserving the knowledg of them only to themselves.

It is then clear by this account, that there is never any good to be expected from any Council which the Pope shall call together, or where he or his Creatures shall preside, or which shall be assembled in *Italy*; not only because of the multitude of *Italian* Bishops, who would spoil all, but because a Council of worthy Men would not be there in safety; for the *Italians* would run to all sorts of Excess and Violence, rather than suffer that the Spiritual Empire, which they claim over all other Nations, should be taken from them, because they come all in for a share of the Plunder: just as we see the Inhabitants of *Barbary* are concerned for the preservation of the Town and Pirates of *Algier*, because they taste of their Riches, and have all a share in their Robberies.

They further insist for the Popes Advantage, that they have built a great many fine Churches at *Rome*, whose admirable Structure doth greatly edify Believers, and is of it self capable to convert the Infidel Princes, as *Palavicini* says, * *Tali opere basterebbeno per render ammirabile la nostra Religione alli sguardi di tutti i Monarchi Mahometani e Gentili.* Such Works as these are enough to make our Religion be admired by all Mahometan and Gentile Monarchs. He makes Religion to consist in these Buildings. It is the same thing that they say, who pretend that the fine Musick of the Churches, the fine Ceremonies, and the costly Ornaments are capable of converting People. I am bold to say, that if any Man be converted by these, he is a Fool; and I know that upon People of Understanding, who apply themselves to solid things, and grow in Spirit and Truth, this hath a contrary Effect; for these things do debauch the Mind, and set it on wandering. The enquiry is about seeking God, and finding him in those places; and it is not the sight of the fine Gilding, or the excellent painting of an Edifice, nor the hearing of a sweet Harmony, but rather the lifting up of our Minds above sensible Objects, and separating them as much as possibly we can from Sense and Imagination; it is the fixing the Eyes of our Understanding with a Religious Attention upon that invisible Spirit, upon that Sun of Justice; and when we do it with that Love and Reverence that is due to it, we shall never fail of seeing and hearing the most delightful things; we there see

* Palav. *lib.* 8. *cap.* 17.

ſee *lumen in lumine*, we there alſo hear that ſweet Voice that ſays, *My Son, thy Sins are forgiven thee.* But for the fine Churches of *Rome*, the Popes in building them have built their own Houſe, and theſe Material Temples have ruined the Spiritual Temples of the Church, * *Palavicini* does acknowledg it. The Fathers were of Opinion, that Antichriſt ſhould one day ſeize upon the moſt magnificent Temples of the Chriſtians, this was the Opinion of St. *Hilary*, and of St. *Hierom*, † this laſt mentions the very Rock of *Tarpeius*. Therefore the Popes ought not to glory overmuch in their Buildings, ſince Antichriſt ſhall one day place himſelf in them. I know not whether other Men are of the ſame Mind as I am; I like well enough to ſee ſuch fine things as theſe; but I confeſs that I have more Devotion in a little Church without Magnificence or rich Ornaments, then I have in ſuch places. I find that my Devotion does inſenſibly divide, and that Senſe does ſometimes carry away a part of my Mind, and tranſport it to ſenſible Objects which do not deſerve it, and that my Affection is thereby weakened whatever care I take to gather it up and unite it. This hath a much more dangerous Effect upon the common People, who have no Knowledg, and whoſe Religion lies only in their Eyes and Ears; they do in a horrible manner faſten on theſe things which are only obvious to their Senſe, and go no higher. There was much more Piety heretofore when the Churches were not ſo magnificent, which in my Opinion does more harm than good. *Dicite Pontifices in ſacris quid facit aurum?* There was infinitely more Zeal in the time of Pope *Zephirin*, who ordained that the Blood ſhould be conſecrated in a Chalice of Glaſs: and St. *Hierom* does inform us, that in his time *Exuperus* Biſhop of *Thouloufe* did conſecrate the Holy Sacrament *in Calice vitreo & vimineo caniſtro*, in a Chalice of Glaſs and a wicker Basket. Then it was as *Gregory* the Great ſays, that the Biſhops were of Gold, but now their Chalices are of Gold, they themſelves are become Wood. (*cum aurei eſſent Sacerdotes, Calices habuerunt ligneos; nunc cum lignei ſint Sacerdotes, Calices volunt habere aureos.*) That is to ſay, within, for without they want no Gold, they have Gold Plates upon their Caps and upon their Breaſts. It is only the Gold of the true Faith which they ſometimes want, but they look upon that as a ſmall matter.

* *Malus vos parietum amor accepit, malè Eccleſias in tectis ædificiiſq; venramini*, &c.

† Hil. *contra Auxentium.* Hieron. *ad Marcellam viduam.*

‖ Having then proved, as I have done, that the Popes are good for nothing, that they are the cauſe of the Churches Deſolation, and of the Damnation of ſo many Millions of Souls which daily periſh, as well by Hereſy as by Ignorance and Vice, there remains nothing more

‖ *Princes are obliged for many Reaſons, to aboliſh the Papacy.*

more for me to prove, but that it is the indiſpenſible Duty of Chriſtian Princes, who are the Protectors of the Faith, and to whom God hath committed the Defence of his Church, to deliver this ſame Church from the Papacy that deſtroys it. This is what they owe to God, to the Church, to their Subjects, to themſelves, and alſo to Human Society.

In regard of GOD, we know that Princes were commanded under the Law to take care that nothing ſhould be received againſt the pure Service of God, and we alſo ſee that good Kings, as *Joſias* and *Jehoſaphat* were ſo careful in this Point, as to depoſe the High-prieſts themſelves, who were inſtituted by God, which the Popes are not. And now under the Goſpel they are the Guardians of the two Tables of the Law, as the * Council of *Paris* ſays, ſo that whether the Diſcipline of the Church be augmented or delayed, God will call Kings to an account for it, to whoſe care he hath entruſted it; and according to this the Emperours did depoſe the Biſhops of *Rome* as well as others, when they neglected their Duty. *Leo* the firſt, Biſhop of *Rome*, does not deny it, when he wrote to the Emperour in thoſe times. *Debes incunctanter advertere, regiam Poteſtatem tibi non ſolum ad Mundi Regimen, ſed maximè ad Eccleſiæ præſidium eſſe collatam.* You ought always to remember, that the Regal Power is given to you, not only for the Government of the World, but chiefly for the Safeguard of the Church.

* *Concil. Paris.*

As for the *Church*, if they are the Protectors of it, as they ought to be, and without doubt are; if the Church be trod under foot, if Ambition, Luxury, and Ignorance ſeize upon the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry, if the Biſhops neglect their Duty, are incapable of teaching, and look after nothing but ſpoiling and turning all to their own particular Profit, if they will make the Church a Den of Thieves, if they ſell Holy Things, and keep the Price to themſelves, ſhall not Princes puniſh ſuch Villanies? Shall they bear the Sword without being able, even for the Good of the Church, to make uſe of it againſt the Popes, who do all theſe things? † It is in this, ſays St. *Auſtin*, that Princes are well pleaſing to God, in doing thoſe things which none but Kings can do; *In hoc ergo ſerviunt Domino Reges, cum ea faciunt ad ſerviendum illi quæ non poſſunt facere niſi Reges.* According to this they did heretofore depoſe the Popes, they made them give an account of their Faith, they did aſſemble Councils, authoriſe their Decrees, and made them be obſerved; and the Popes cannot alledg any Treaty made with Princes, nor any Preſcription; for there

† Aug. contra Creſcon. Gram. *lib.* 3.

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is no Preſcription againſt the Service which we owe to God, nor no Agreement which can bind the Hands of Princes when it is againſt the good of the Church; for if at any time they have ſurpriſed Princes, taking advantage of their Ignorance or Weakneſs, it is then a greater Crime to obſerve theſe Treaties which are againſt the Glory of God and the good of the Church, than it is to violate them. Here the ſaying is true, that *interdum ſcelus eſt fides.* No Man whatſoever ought to have his Hands tied by any Treaty from advancing the Glory of God as much as he is able by lawful means.

Nor are Princes leſs obliged for their *Subjects ſake*, to do their utmoſt endeavour to extirpate the Papacy, for they are the Preſervers both of Religious and Civil Society, being the Heads both of the one and the other in their own Dominions. It is on this account that they receive their Tribute, and for this end were they by God ordained, that we might live in Peace and Quietneſs in all Godlineſs and Honeſty. And there is no Subject but may demand it of his Prince, that he would enfranchiſe him from the Tyranny of the Pope, or elſe let him renounce that Right which God hath given him over him; for the Prince hath no Right to give his Subjects over to another, and at the ſame time to reſerve his own Power over them upon any pretence whatſoever, this is againſt Nature and the Law of Nations; but he ought to defend them againſt all Oppreſſion, of either Foreign or Domeſtick Enemies. Now the whole World knows that the Popes for many Ages paſt have dealt unworthily, as well by the Subjects as the Perſons of Princes they have ſmitten whole Kingdoms together with their *Anathema's*, they have drained them by their Indulgences, they plunder them by their Diſpenſations and by their Annates, they make them ſtoop to them by their Bulls, and oblige many of them to take Oaths of Obedience and of Fidelity to them, and have in many places deſtroyed a world of People with the Torments of their Inquiſition. They may well apply to themſelves this ſaying of *Tacitus*; *Subjectos nos habuit tanquam ſuos, viles ut alienos.*

Princes are farthermore for their own ſakes obliged to aboliſh the Papacy not only as they are Members of the Church which is oppreſſed by it, but becauſe that they are God's Vicegerents they ought to acknowledg none but the great God above them, who is the only King of Kings and Monarch of Monarchs. The Popes have no more right to call themſelves ſo, than thoſe mad Men that ſay they are ſometimes God, and ſometimes Kings of *France*, as he who under this pretence attempted againſt the Life of *Henry* the Fourth. † S. *Optat* ſays very well; *Cum ſuper Imperatorem non ſit niſi ſolus Deus qui fecit Imperatorem,*

† Optat. *lib.* 3.

torem, dum ſe Donatus ſuper Imperatorem extollit, jam quaſi hominum exceſſerat metas, ut ſe ut Deum non ut hominem æſtimaret. There being none above the Emperor, but God who made the Emperor, ſeeing *Donatus* lifts himſelf up above the Emperor, he hath paſſed beyond the bounds of Men, that he might look on himſelf as God and not as Man. At this day the Biſhops of *Rome* have this Right as they pretend, to fling down Kings from their Thrones, as a Fowler ſhoots down a Bird from the branch of a Tree. They are Maſters of all the Kingdoms of the World and can give them to whomſoever they pleaſe; they not only ſay ſo, but do it; they have done ſo by *England*, *France*, and *Navarre*, they have done ſo by the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, which they have ſhared between the *Spaniards* and the *Portugals*, having outed the lawful Princes. They have dealt thus with many other States, and are ſtill ready to do the ſame thing again. It is then the Intereſt of Princes for many reſpects that this Tyranny ſhould be aboliſhed; ſince as the Fathers ſay, they have none but God alone above them, they ought not to depend upon theſe Scoundrils. It is a thing unworthy of their Majeſty, and contrary to their Soveraignty to be under the Yoke of any Man living. It ſignifies nothing to ſay that they are ſo only for the ſpiritual part, for that is yet leſs to be allowed of. Jeſus Chriſt hath reſerved that to himſelf; and they ſuffer the Church to be undone by their Sluggiſhneſs and hinder thoſe who are gone aſtray from it from being converted, nay, they deſtroy the very Popes who damn themſelves in the fooliſh Opinion which they have of their Power; they muſt be cured of their Preſumption, and have good done them whether they will or no, as we do to Children, *a communi ed a fanciulli convien fare il loro bene ſenza lor voglia. It is fit to do good to the common People and to Children, tho it be againſt their Will.* Pope *Marcellin* did not believe it poſſible, that a Pope could be ſaved, nor did *Pius* the fifth think otherwiſe. People do not conſider that it was for the ſake of the Temporality that the Popes have invented the Spirituality, and that without the one, they would not trouble themſelves with the other, as is apparent to the World; for what ſhall we call Temporal if the Annates are not? and the Mony for Diſpenſations, the Oath which the Clergy take to the Pope, the Oath which Kings take to the Holy See, that is to ſay, to the Papacy, and ſo many other Acts of the baſeſt ſubmiſſion of Princes (ſome of which do even border upon Idolatry, as the kiſſing the Slipper of theſe wretched Creatures) and ſo great a Superiority of the Popes, that Princes are become wholly contemptible? For my part, I wonder that thoſe, who have heard of Jeſus Chriſt and his Goſpel, do not condemn this Pride to

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the ſevereſt Puniſhments. No Man that had the leaſt Fear of God would ever be Pope to act ſo horrible a part, not to mention the Diſorders of the Church, and the deſtruction of ſo many Souls that ſhall be imputed to him. * Princes then ought not to defer their Endeavours of freeing the Church from this Monſter, and at the ſame time to deliver themſelves from Tyranny, and not ſuffer theſe Strangers to rob them of their Subjects, and as they owe this to themſelves, they owe it alſo to *Human Society*; for they are alſo obliged not only to puniſh thoſe who injure their own Perſons or their Subjects, but likewiſe thoſe Crimes which do not touch themſelves in particular, but yet notoriouſly violate the Laws of God, of Nature, and of Nations, or of the Church, or of the Authority which God hath ſet over his People. I demand whether the Popes are not guilty of theſe Crimes, they, who, under the Title of Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, which they inſolently aſſume, have caſt the Church into the moſt deplorable Deſolation, and have ravaged all Chriſtian Kingdoms; who authoriſe all ſorts of Vice and Diſorder both in the Church and in the World, dethrone Kings the anointed of God, tread upon the Necks of Emperours, diſpence with the Oaths of Allegiance in their Subjects, diſpence with the Laws of God and his Goſpel, hinder Chriſtians from reading the holy Scripture without which we cannot be Chriſtians, and unmercifully murther Men for their Religion by their Inquiſition; ought it to be queſtioned whether ſuch People as theſe ſhould be exterminated? † Pope *Innocent* himſelf and many others are of Opinion, that we may deſtroy thoſe that ſin againſt Nature: ‖ And St. *Auguſtin* ſays, *Opinantur ſcelera facienda decerni, qualia ſi quis terrena Civitas decerneret, genere humano decernente fuerat evertenda.* * *Seneca* hath alſo a fine ſaying upon this; *Si non Patriam meam impugnat ſed ſuæ gravis eſt, & ſepoſitus a meâ gente ſuam exagitat, abſcidit nihilominus illum tanta pravitas animi.* In fine, no Man can doubt whether thoſe who curſe their Father and Mother and tread them under their Feet, or thoſe that live upon Humane Fleſh, or Pirates upon the Sea without Commiſſion from any Prince, ought to be extirpated, and whether all Princes have not a right to deſtroy them if they can; I maintain that the Popes do all this and worſe, I have already ſhewed it in what I have related. But beſides all this, what can a Man think of theſe Men, who call themſelves their *Holineſſes*, which is a Title that belongs only to God, and is one of the moſt excellent of all his Attributes; who call themſelves *Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt*, to dethrone Jeſus Chriſt from his Church and govern it at their own fantaſy; who ſay that they are *infallible* and *above* the *Councils*, that they can open Heaven and ſhut up

* *That the Papacy is againſt Humane Society.*

† Innocent. *l.* 3. *quod ſuper his devoto Arch. Flor.* 3. *part. tit.* 22. *Stct.* 5. Sylvanus *in verbo Papa Stct.* 7.

‖ Aug. *lib.* 5. *de Civitate Dei.*

* Seneca 7. *de benef.*

Hell, put out the Fire of Purgatory when they pleaſe, ſave and damn whom they pleaſe, who make themſelves be called *God* and the *Divine Majeſty*, and cauſe themſelves to be worſhipped. I demand whether there be any thing like this in the Crimes of others the moſt vile and miſerable Creatures, and that which is the moſt terrible of all, is, that the Popes do every day caſt down many Millions of Souls headlong into Hell. Do not ſuch things as theſe deſerve the Vengeance of Princes here on Earth? The Inſenſibility and Stupidity of Chriſtians muſt be very great, this their Lethargy to me appears monſtrous, and certainly there muſt be in it ſomewhat ſupernatual; θεῖον τι as *Hippocrates* ſays of ſome ſtrange Diſeaſes, which are wholly unknown. If the Intereſt of God and his Church were here only concerned, it would not be ſo ſurpriſing; for uſually Princes ſeldom trouble themſelves with that; they cry * *Deorum injuria dis cura*; but here where they are robbed of their Majeſty to dreſs up a pack of Raſcals with it, where they are made Tributary, where their Authority is limited, where part of their Subjects are withdrawn from them by Exemptions and baſe Laws, which make them contemptible as well to thoſe who thus plunder them, as to others who ſecure themſelves under the Covert of this Tyranny; It is unconceiveable that Princes ſhould have ſo much Patience; for tho the Primacy of St. *Peter* could be proved that he was Biſhop of *Rome*, and left there his Succeſſours either as he was an Apoſtle, or a Biſhop, muſt, I ſay, ſuch People as theſe be his Succeſſours, and make all theſe Crimes their common Practiſe, and go ſtill unpuniſhed? They ſhall as ſoon make me worſhip the Devil as believe it. And I really believe, that it would be no hard matter to make them who adhere to the Papacy, both receive and ſerve him. They would ſoon reliſh the Reaſons of the *Manicheens*, who ſaid that there were two Principles, the one good and the other bad; or the Argument of thoſe *Indians*, who believed they ought to worſhip the Devil, becauſe he could do them hurt, and that God, being all good of himſelf, could do them none, and ſo it is not neceſſary to adore him. This now looks very amazing, but they who are ſo much in love with the Papacy would ſoon receive it, if any Man of Senſe would give a little colour to it, and there were good Benefices to be hoped for by it, which could not otherwiſe be obtained; if they might have fine Churches, and re-eſtabliſh the fine Ceremonies of *Numa Pompilius*, if their only care might be to divert the Eyes and Eares of the People with Muſick and rare Shews, as heretofore they did to thoſe miſerable Jews, who brought their Children to *Moloch*, and whilſt they burned they played upon all ſorts of Inſtruments, and entertained them with the moſt de-

* Tacitus,

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lightful Muſick, that they might not hear the Cries of their poor Children.

Can we think it ſtrange as things go, that the Proteſtants are not converted? There would be in my Opinion greater reaſon to wonder if they ſhould embrace the Catholick Religion whilſt the Pope ſhould exerciſe this horrible Tyranny; for I do maintain that there is no Man of Honour, that hath any Modeſty or Senſe of Chriſtianity, that can digeſt this Article of the Almighty Power of the Pope, if at leaſt it hath not been riveted in him from his Childhood, and he been brought up in this Opinion all his Life-time without ever making any Reflection upon it. But for the Proteſtants, we muſt never pretend to make them believe that the Popes are Heads of the univerſal Church eſtabliſhed by Jeſus Chriſt to govern it as it is governed, there is no Man of Senſe will ever be perſwaded to believe this. But it may be ſaid that the great Truths which the Catholick Religion teaches, give us ſo great an advantage over the Hereticks, that they ought to make no difficulty of paſſing over ſuch an Error as this to enter into the Communion of the Church. For my part, I am of Opinion, that a Man's Converſion is a work ſupernatural, and from the hand of God, who, filling the Heart of Man with Light and Courage, makes him overcome Darkneſs and his natural Weakneſs; and that a true Converſion is always accompanied with Zeal towards God, and Charity towards our Neighbour. This being ſuppoſed, I maintain that they who are converted by theſe Principles do in effect embrace with their whole Heart the Catholick Truths; but that their Charity and the Zeal towards God, which animates them, ſhall always make them reſiſt and oppoſe to the utmoſt of their Power all Impoſtures and Falſities whatſoever, that they ſhall chearfully loſe their Eſtates and Lives, to deliver the Church from ſo miſerable a Slavery as the Papacy is. It is a great unhappineſs that the Proteſtants have ſeparated themſelves not from the Pope, but from the Church, and that they have invented Novelties to fortify their Schiſm which at the beginning had no other Original than the Tyranny of the Pope; for without theſe Novelties the Church would in all likelihood have joyned with them; becauſe that many People ſaw clearly the Cheat of the Papacy, and that it had no Foundation, neither in the Scripture nor in Reaſon; but the Opinions which they began then to ſpread abroad, to which from time to time they added ſomewhat or other new, *ut nemo ſit repente turpiſſimus*, put the Catholicks out of all hope, and made them continue as they were; and it were now fooliſh enough to think our ſelves in the wrong, to acknowledg that the Proteſtants are right in this Article, and that we

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have not courage enough to get off this Abuſe and to deteſt it as well as they, wherein we do great Prejudice to our ſelves, to Religion, and likewiſe to the Proteſtants whom we deſtroy by it; for they, ſeeing that they have Reaſon on their ſide in this Point, cannot believe that we have it in others, and ſo remain obſtinante. For my part, as I am aſſured that their Religion is contrary to the Goſpel, ſo I cannot but confeſs (and I think my ſelf indiſpencibly bound in Conſcience to doit) that concerning the Article of the Papacy, they have more Reaſon on their ſide than can be imagined.

But if we find that we have too little Courage or Strength to undertake to aboliſh and utterly deſtroy this Monſter, we ought at leaſt to endeavour to ſend him home to *Rome*, *and ſecure our ſelves from all the Miſchief he is able to do us, and not to endure any more his Approaches.* I ſay this only to prevent the Objection which People make, that it is extream difficult to bring about ſuch an Enterpriſe; that this great Machine is ſo well joyned together, this *Babel* hath ſo many Props and Arches, that they who ſhould undertake to pull it down would be in danger of being ſwallowed up in its Ruins. *Mille annorum fortunâ diſciplinâq; compages hæc coaluit, quæ convelli ſine convellentium exitio non poteſt.* It would ever be a glorious thing, both before God and Men, to undertake ſo great a thing, tho it were without ſucceſs. But I do not think the danger ſo great as People imagine; for I am perſwaded that this work doth not exceed the Strength of any great, vigorous and zealous Prince who would manage the thing with Prudence. I own that no Prince can undertake ſuch a Work, who is not aſſured that his Neighbours ſhall not oppoſe him, and that his Clergy and People ſhall not be againſt him: As for his Neighbours, he may eaſily know their Diſpoſition both as to their Will, and the Means they have either to aſſiſt or hurt him. And for the Clergy, the Contrivance ſhould be to let them peaceably enjoy their Benefices, and to make them underſtand their Rights; that according to the Goſpel all Biſhops are equal, and that they owe to the Pope no more than to any other of their fellow Brethren, that the Popes have uſurped over them the Authority which they aſſume to themſelves of giving Bulls, and the Oath of Fidelity which they exact from them, and that theſe things overturn the Goſpel; and that for the Oath, if they have taken it to the Pope, it is null in it ſelf, being againſt the Law of God, as St. *Auſtin* ſays. *ſi ad peccatum admittendum fides adhibeatur, mirum eſt ſi fides appelletur.* And for the People, they muſt be gently uſed and made to underſtand, if they are capable of Reaſon, that all the Popes of *Rome*, as well as other Biſhops, have Authority only in their Dioceſs, according to the Goſpel and ancient

Canons;

Canons; that the Authority which they exerciſe, ſerves for nothing elſe but to make them Maſters of the whole Earth, and turns to nothing but their particular Profit: They muſt alſo be ſhewed the Diſorders which this Power hath cauſed both in the Church and in the World, as I have repreſented it in ſome places of this Work. If once the People were made to comprehend this, the Monks could never do any Miſchief; for they are dangerous only among the People whom they govern, provided they do not come nigh Princes. This being done, a potent and prudent Prince would eaſily perſwade other Princes all that I have ſaid of the Papacy, of its uſeleſneſs, of the Miſchiefs it hath cauſed in the Church and in the World, of the Shame which it draweth upon them by keeping them always under the Yoak, of the damage which it cauſeth to their Eſtates, of the Danger they are continually in depending upon the Popes Humour, who can excommunicate them when he pleaſeth, of the Account they will have to give to God for ſo many Souls that periſh, as well Catholicks as Hereticks, the one by Ignorance, and the others by the Obſtinacy which the Papacy cauſeth; and that Religion hath no Connection with the Papacy, that we ſhould be more Catholicks than we are if there were no Pope, and that the Church would be Ariſtocratically governed, as in the firſt Centuries by the way of Councils. There is no Prince who hath common Senſe, but would joyn with another truly Catholik Prince that would propoſe this; and by this means we ſhould ſoon ſee the Prophecy of the *Revelation* fulfilled, * which ſays, that *the Kingdoms of the World are become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Chriſt, and he ſhall reign for ever and ever.* But, ſay they, the King and the Biſhops have ‖ ſworn Fidelity to the Holy See. I anſwer with St. *Ambroſe*, † That it is ever unjuſt to obſerve an Oath made againſt God or our Neighbour: And St. *Auguſtin* ſaid above, that if an Oath tends to a Crime, it is contrary to Faith to keep it. I have proved that the Papacy is a Myſtery of Iniquity; and that ſo Princes as well as others would make themſelves the Inſtruments of the Popes Crimes, of their Sin againſt God, and of the Ruine which they draw upon the Church. *Seneca* ſays very well, *Si in omnibus obediendum eſt patri, in eo non eſt obediendum, in quo efficitur ne pater ſit; Tho we ought in all things to obey our Father, yet he is not to be obeyed in thoſe things wherein he ceaſeth to be a Father.* The reaſon then is much ſtronger, that we ought not to obey a common High-way-man, who hath deceived and ſeduced us to make us Complices of his Crimes. When a Vow or an Oath is lawfully made, yet where the thing vowed, or the Oath taken doth hinder a greater Moral Good, Orthodox Divines are of

* Rev. 11. 15.

‖ *The Oath taken to the Pope.*

† Amb. *Offic.* 1. *cap.* ult.

Opinion

Opinion that the Oath is null, becauſe that we owe to God a Progreſs in well doing, ſo that we cannot deprive our ſelves of the Liberty of making this Progreſs: Beſides, every Oath of a Chriſtian hath this underſtood, Provided that this be to the greater Glory of God, Edification of our Neighbour, and our own Salvation: So that *quod propter Charitatem fit, non debet contra Charitatem militare. That which is made for Charity's ſake, ought not to militate againſt Charity.* The Lawyers ſay, that *ſacra alienari non poſſunt*; *Holy things cannot be alienated.* And what is there more ſacred than the Zeal which we ought to have for the Glory of God, for the Propagation of the Faith, and the ſpiritual good of the Church? So that there is no Oath, Treaty, nor Agreement, but ought to give place to the good and ſafety of the Church, and the Salvation of our Souls. This is like the Oath which Pirates or Robbers on the High-way force them to ſwear whom they take Priſoners, who, to ſave their Lives, promiſe to be faithful to them, and do them what Service they can; The Lawyers do maintain that theſe Oaths are not binding. * *A piratis aut latronibus captus, liber permanet. Qui a latronibus captus eſt, ſervus latronum non eſt, nec poſtliminium illi neceſſarium eſt.* It is an undiſputable Maxim. *Non poſſe Deum obligare creaturam ad non obediendum ſibi.* The Lawyers alſo ſay, that a Man cannot renounce the Right he hath to defend himſelf which is natural, much leſs a Prince.

* Paulus Juriſconſultus L. ſi quis ingenuam § 1. cod. Tit. Ulpian L. Hoſtes. D. de captivis.

Thus there is no Reaſon Divine nor Humane, but doth indiſpencibly impoſe Princes to renounce the Papacy, and to re-eſtabliſh the Church in that Purity which Jeſus Chriſt hath left to it. But as for the Papacy, it is like the ancient Idols of Paganiſm, which, when the Chriſtians did renounce, they knew well their Vanity, when they examined into the thing, but they ſtill reſerved a certain *timor ſervus & ſuperſtitioſus, fear and implicite reſpect*, as *Gerſon* ſays, for them; becauſe that from their Infancy they had their Minds greatly affected with the Power of theſe Idols. It is juſt the ſame thing with us and the Pope; yet ſtill *Idolum nihil in Mundo.* And I am perſwaded that we ſhould have a great deal of difficulty before we could turn him briskly away. It were to be wiſhed that he would do Juſtice, and give Glory to God; but what likelihood is there of that? That he always keep the Titles of Head and Spouſe of the Church; if they would be contented with the latter, there might be found out a way to be rid of the former, which would be for the French Church to give them once for all the ſame Portion, as *Philip* the Second gave to his Eldeſt Daughter, when he married her to the Duke of *Savoy*; he gave her a Crucifix, and an Image of our Lady, but upon condition that he ſhould never hear her ſpeak of any thing more, and that ſhe ſhould renounce for ever all other Pretenſions, both for her ſelf and all her Race, as this Princeſs did; but if they will not be the Spouſe at this Price, the ſureſt way is abſolutely to break with them, and to ſend them to the Whore of *Babylon*, leſt at length God conſume us alſo in this Adultery.

FINIS.